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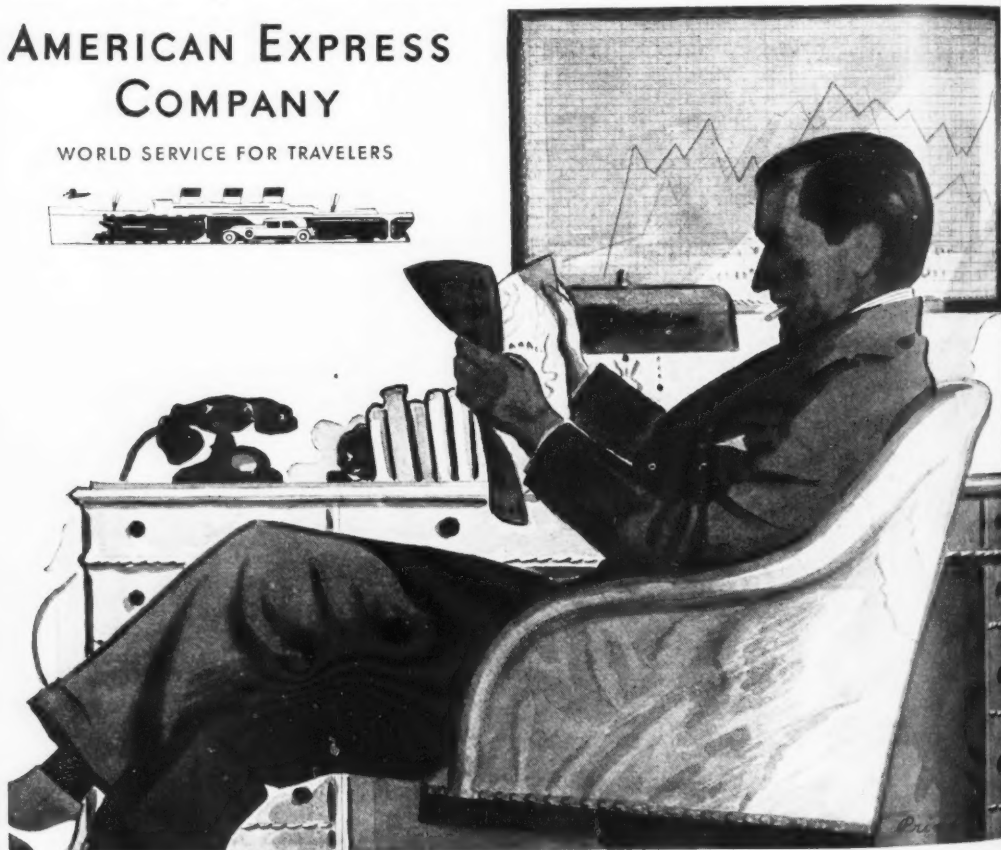
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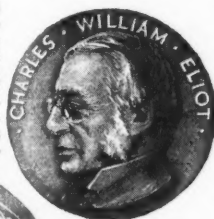
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Social and Economic History of the War

AN American historian pointed out recently that since the French Revolution had been a subject for study and controversy for nearly a century and a half, the World War ought to continue as a field for research for 500 years. Already thousands of volumes have been devoted to the many aspects of the war and what at the moment seemed in comparison a fairly simple, open affair has become with the passing of the years inextricably complicated and many-sided. One phase of the war too often neglected and forgotten is the effect on civilians and civilian life of a major international conflict. This is the subject of the exhaustive and monumental study in 155 volumes, the *Economic and Social History of the World War* (James T. Shotwell, General Editor. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

This series of studies and monographs will provide future students and historians, as well as men in public life, with a mine of information in regard to the many ways in which the normal processes of civilization are disrupted in wartime. Although the history is largely economic, the studies cover as widely separated fields as public health during the war, the relation between the war and crime, and the effects of war demands on government. As far as possible the purely political side of the war has been avoided. The general organization of this great work is by national series, among them series relating to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Scandinavia, Yugoslavia and the United States; through them all runs the common, unifying theme of the effects of the war on the economic and social life of these nations.

The task of writing any history in 155 volumes would be stupendous, but if possible it was even greater with the *Economic and Social History of the World War*, which covers such wide fields of endeavor in many nations. The originators of the plan for the history

found themselves without any model to follow, but what was even more serious, they faced so vast a mass of source material that its use was more of a practical problem than a historical one. The British War Archives alone, for instance, would require thirty-five miles of shelving, and would include only sources considered as official. If to this mass of official material is added the no less important unofficial records, the problem becomes almost insurmountable. Yet this problem was met, and any examination of the volumes in the history will show that Dr. Shotwell was successful in overcoming the problem.

Before all else was the need for building up a staff of collaborators and editors; the editors had of necessity to be men of consequence and weight, the actual contributors men of competence and standing. In the selection of the contributors—in the end they exceeded 250—few historians were chosen; economists formed the largest group, but generally the selection fell on men of affairs, statesmen, lawyers, engineers, scientists. Perhaps it is significant that among the European collaborators, twenty-five had been Cabinet Ministers. But the organization of this group was something more than the assembling of

collaborators for the writing of a great history. In the words of Dr. Shotwell, it "brought into existence a sort of international academy, analyzing the effect of war, critically and objectively; and so, from across what were hostile frontiers, both consciously and unconsciously by their common pursuit of similar ends, linking up once more the broken contact of the international mind."

Although the plans for a comprehensive economic and social history of the war were drawn up during the conflict, work was not actually begun until after the Treaty of Versailles. Since 1920 the development of the history has been steady; every year has seen the publication of several volumes, until in 1931 the work is about to be finished. The completion of this task in itself sets a rec-

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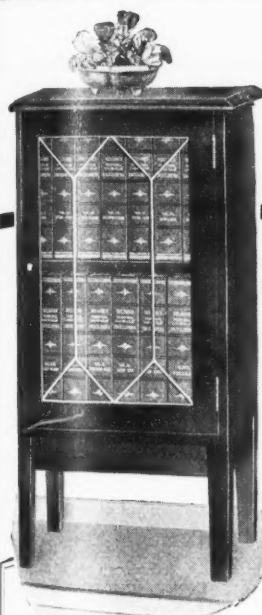
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Possibly one of the most interesting national series is that which pictures *laissez-faire* England caught in the net of modern warfare. The study of British food control, for instance, illustrates many phases of wartime organization. Here one comes to realize the magnitude of this one problem: food pricing, food rationing and the removal of the processes of production and distribution from the control of so-called economic laws. A no less important volume in the same series deals with the shipping industry, an industry so essential for the carrying on of the war and the very preservation of Great Britain. Actually, shipping became one of the most crucial problems of the war, but as this study points out, the problem was not simply one of enough ships and their protection, but how to harmonize some effective form of State control with the efficient conduct and working of the industry itself. With these studies as with all others, one sees civilian life torn from its traditional ways and forced along strange and often distasteful pathways.

While the volumes of the history will be an exhaustive source of information, they are more than that. Modern warfare is shown conclusively to be a war between entire populations; the actual clash of war may devastate cities and villages, uprooting their citizens, but the effects are far-reaching and disrupt normal life everywhere. These disruptions should help to explain more clearly the turmoil of the post-war years. But the history may help to show the way toward international peace. The writer of a letter quoted in one of the annual reports of the general editor of the history said: "Whoever has, with heartburning, taken his share in the events of the war, is naturally led to the conclusion that no other people has borne like his own, with equal courage or readiness for sacrifice, the exertions, the losses and sorrows of this time; that none approached his own sense of duty and renunciation of self for others, in strength of organization and stern discipline."

* * * But let them read the writings which give a clear insight into the effects of the war in foreign lands—England, for instance—and they will soon recognize that the virtues which they claimed for their own compatriots were by no means less common on the part of

the enemy, and that there much was accomplished which deserves honest admiration from the standpoint of morals. Such reading makes for modesty; it widens the outlook and awakens an understanding of foreign peoples."

E. FRANCIS BROWN.

Confederate Cavalrymen

By H. J. ECKENRODE

State Historian of Virginia

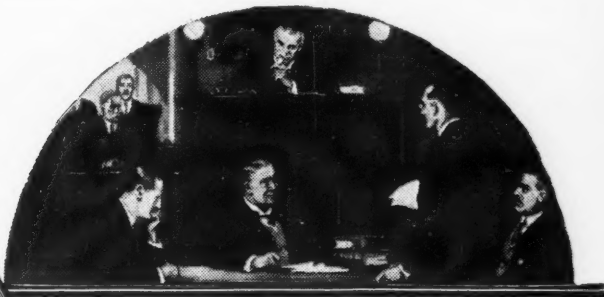
JEB STUART. By John W. Thomason Jr., Captain United States Marine Corps. With illustrations and maps by the author. 512 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. \$5.

BEDFORD FORREST, the Confederacy's Greatest Cavalryman. By Captain Eric William Sheppard, Royal Tank Corps. With plates from engravings and six sketch maps. 320 pp. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press. 1930. \$5.

THE Confederate cause was the romantic cause of modern history, partly because it was a lost cause and partly because the South was romantic. The South, fed on Sir Walter Scott, reveled in the Middle Ages and used the word "chivalry" until it became something of a joke. And since the cavalry was the romantic branch of service, it was natural for the Confederate cavalry to revive the ideal of knighthood. In this way J. E. B. Stuart, Lee's cavalry commander, became the most picturesque figure of the Civil War. Wearing a golden sash around his waist, a scarlet-lined cape and a feathered hat, he strongly resembled in appearance one of Prince Rupert's horsemen who fought at Marston Moor. But there the resemblance ends; Stuart was no Cavalier at all but a medieval knight and the character he most resembles is Bayard, for, like Bayard, he was *sans peur et sans reproche*. He was, indeed, one of the purest and noblest of men.

Captain Thomason has given us a fascinating account of the Confederate cavalry service in the East. Owing to the equestrian habits of Southerners, the cavalry was a very important branch of service from the very first. Under Stuart the cavalry not only developed its usual function of gaining information of the enemy's movements and screening its own army to the fullest extent, but it raided behind the enemy's lines in a way unknown to European armies. In fact, Stuart pushed his raids too far, for on two occasions, in the first raid around McClellan and in his raid of June, 1863, important developments unfavorable to the Southern cause followed. The raid around McClellan enlightened the Union General as to the insecurity of his communications and resulted in the "change of base" that saved his army from destruction. The raid of June, 1863, sent Stuart away from Lee when most needed and led the Confederates to blunder into battle at Gettysburg.

Stuart was an incomparable outpost officer; Lee said of him that he never brought false



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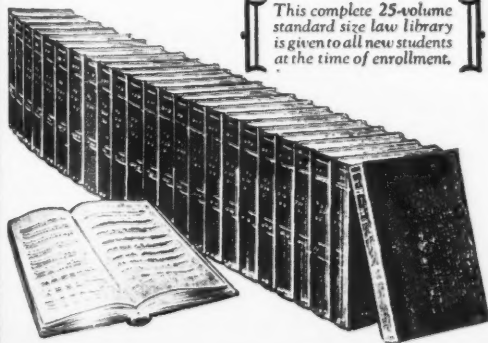
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information. As a fighter, however, he was a traditional cavalryman; he fought his men on horseback, and not dismounted, and the saber was used in his charges. As a fighter Stuart was not as successful as a gatherer of information and a raider. In his principal battle, Fleetwood, fought on June 9, 1863, to screen Lee's move toward Pennsylvania, Stuart barely saved himself from defeat. It was reserved for Sheridan to use cavalry as cavalry with the fullest effect. In the open Shenandoah Valley he put his cavalry into battle in conjunction with his infantry and most successfully. Probably he could not have beaten Early with infantry alone.

Stuart remained a knight to the last, perishing in a heroic attempt to accomplish the impossible. Bayard was killed in a hopeless rear-guard action in Italy. In almost the same way, Stuart was slain in attempting to defeat and bag an overwhelming enemy force. In May, 1864, when Lee and Grant were grappling at Spottsylvania, Sheridan made a dash behind the Confederate Army. Stuart, following, divided his small force and came on Sheridan near Richmond with a handful of followers. These were scattered, and Stuart met his fatal wound in attempting to rally them.

Very different were the character and career of Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest was no knight at all; he was a plain business man. A poor boy of the hardest pioneer stock, Forrest made his way by hard work and hard knocks, a merchant, cotton planter, slave trader. There was no time for romance in his crowded life; he was direct, practical, modern.

He had had no military training and entered the Civil War as a private. His force of character and his military genius raised him rank by rank until he finally became a Lieutenant-General. Cavalry commander at Fort Donelson, he refused to surrender and cut his way out. Attached to Bragg, he did valuable outpost duty and fought his command as dismounted cavalry at Chickamauga. He became a prime factor in the development of cavalry as mounted infantry. He nearly always fought on foot and vastly preferred pistols to picturesque sabers, another instance of his practical nature. He cared nothing for appearance, everything for results.

Joe Johnston once said that Forrest would have been a central figure of the Civil War if he had received a military education. As a matter of fact, he had no book education. No doubt the story is a libel that when asked how he won his victories, he replied, "I got thar fustest with the mostest men," but that such a story should be current is evidence that he was not cultured.

If Forrest had been fully trusted by the Confederate authorities, the history of the war might have been different, for he had novel

ideas of the uses of cavalry, ideas he was never able to put in practice. In 1863 he wished to break Grant's communications at Vicksburg with cavalry and heavy artillery, but Davis did not have brains enough to consent. In 1864 he desired to break Sherman's communications and could have done it if all the cavalry in the West had been given him, but again Davis did not have the foresight to agree. With 10,000 cavalry Forrest could have destroyed Sherman's railroad and probably forced him into a disastrous retreat; the course of the war would have been different. Davis preferred to limit Forrest to the comparatively trivial duty of defeating Union raids into Mississippi. This Forrest did with great effect, winning at Brice's Cross Roads what was the most brilliant minor victory of the war. As a raider Forrest was very daring and effective, venturing everywhere and doing great damage. However, he was not given the opportunity of showing that cavalry can be a decisive factor in modern war; the theory was too revolutionary for Jefferson Davis.

Captain Thomason's *Stuart* is one of the best American military biographies; it is a classic. Adequate technically, it is most readable and is excellently illustrated with sketches. Captain Sheppard had a more difficult task in his *Forrest*, for his work inevitably brings into comparison Dr. Wyeth's excellent book on the great cavalryman. But the British soldier has done well; there was a need for a new and impartial estimate of Forrest, and this Captain Sheppard has given us.

The Letters of Queen Victoria

By CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE

Department of History, Columbia University

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA. Third series. Vol. 1 (1836-1890). Edited by George Earle Buckle. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. Pp. xvi. 668. \$9.

TOWARD the end of her reign Victoria had already become something of a myth, but as this volume, covering her correspondence for the five years, 1886-90, shows, she was an active myth in an epistolary sense at least. It contains not only hundreds of letters by her and extracts from her journal, but missives to her from officials, friends, relatives and foreign potentates, including such exotic sovereigns as Chief Letsie of the Basutos and the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Victoria of these letters is the one that has left its impress on the popular mind. Not as the girl queen, nor the doting wife, nor yet the desolate and secluded widow is she chiefly remembered today. Rather one thinks of her as she was during these later years, oscillating

still between Osborne and Balmoral, still sorrowing on occasion for the peerless Albert, yet consoled by and delighting in her renewed popularity, busily following the affairs of state, ruling her enormous family and personifying in an ideal fashion the rather bourgeois type of ruler which the vast majority of the English wanted.

That the Queen was popular again cannot be doubted. Perhaps public sympathy was turned to her by the numerous deaths in her immediate family. Or perhaps her reappearance at public functions was the cause. More likely it was the waning prestige of Gladstone, whom she had opposed, and the rapid growth of imperialism of which she, as Queen-Empress, was the focus. Then, too, the English are always admirers of vigor, and her longevity was beginning to be something of an achievement.

During the years dealt with in this volume Victoria's interests, although as varied as ever, tended to centre on a few main themes. Gladstone's short-lived Ministry of 1886 and his first home rule bill revived all her antipathy for him. In no uncertain terms she expressed her dislike. "Mr. Gladstone's speech was very unsatisfactory." "I hope and think Mr. Gladstone could not form a government." "What a dreadful thing to lose such a man [as Prime Minister] as Lord Salisbury for the country, the world and me!" When it became necessary to summon Gladstone to form a Ministry she hesitated so long as almost to precipitate a crisis. Once he was in office she wrote of his views as "peculiar and objectionable" and of his Irish followers as "low and disreputable men." When home rule and Gladstone were repudiated at the polls Victoria could not "help feeling very thankful."

Another object of the Queen's attention was Prince Alexander of Battenberg who had just previously been made ruler of Bulgaria. She liked him personally, calling him affectionately "Sandro"; and further his brothers had married respectively her daughter Beatrice and her granddaughter Victoria Mary of Hesse-Darmstadt. By Russian machinations Sandro was driven out of his new country "without even a servant," as Victoria wrote in horror. The Queen, furious at "these Russian fiends," set herself to right the wrong. Thwarted by the comparative indifference of the British Government and by Bismarck's surreptitious support of the Russians, she failed. But even after Sandro married an actress, he retained a place in Victoria's affections.

The high point of the period was, for Victoria, the Jubilee of 1887 in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of her accession. Her letters and her journal are full of it for weeks. "The day has come. * * * Enormous crowds and immense enthusiasm. * * * All the roy-

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alties * * * in the Bow Room * * * the buffet covered with gold plate. * * * Troops passing * * * with bands playing * * * constant cheering. * * 12 Indian officers, 3 sons, 5 sons-in-law, 9 grandsons and grandsons-in-law, * * * 3 daughters, 3 daughters-in-law, granddaughters, 1 granddaughter-in-law. * * * Extraordinary outburst of enthusiasm. * * * Decorations beautiful. * * * touching inscriptions. * * * My robes * * * beautifully draped on the chair. * * * The children sang *God Save the Queen* somewhat out of tune." It was all wonderful and inspiring; if only Albert could have been there.

Although for the general reader the emphasis on politics and diplomacy and the tendency to exclude purely family and social letters will reduce the interest of this work, still, the historian, amateur or professional, will find many valuable sidelights on the times, much important material hitherto unpublished and a panorama of five years of Victorian history as Victoria saw it.

The Paris Commune

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

THE PARIS COMMUNE: An Episode in the History of the Socialist Movement. By Edward S. Mason. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$5.

STUDENTS of socialism and communism have long been aware of the importance which has been ascribed to the Paris Commune of 1871 in the history and philosophy of those movements. Karl Marx, in his *Civil War in France*, a pamphlet finished two days after the defeat of the Commune and given the form of an address to the International Workingmen's Association, better known now as the First International, saw in the episode a revolution of the Paris proletariat in which the working class found at last its governmental instrument. Lenin, who wrote much on the subject, pointed to the Commune as the first step in the historical development of proletarian rule, and other Communist writers have followed him in examining or extolling it. The result has been the creation of what Professor Mason of Harvard, in this book, calls an historical mythology, and in an able piece of scholarly work he has subjected the myth to a new and thoroughgoing examination.

Although he disclaims any intention of writing a comprehensive history of the Commune, the chapters in which, after a preliminary sketch of socialism in France in the decade before the Franco-Prussian War, he narrates the course of events in Paris are an excellent summary both of the governmental efforts of the revolutionaries and of the disorders that

accompanied them. It is his conclusions, however, that are particularly worth noting. The Commune, he reminds us, does not lend itself easily to scientific treatment, especially if one tries to deduce from it any "natural laws" of revolution. "It arose out of a situation, complex in the extreme, in which a large number of elements, each necessary to the outcome, were interwoven inextricably." Its causes include the defeat of France by Germany and the internal weakness of the French Government, a weakness which was accentuated by opposing views of republicans and democrats about political repression. On the other hand, looking at the movement as a phase of socialism, we are warned that "there is no cosmic necessity leading the working classes toward socialism," and that proletariat and socialism are not "inseparable entities."

The socialist mythology, in other words, has to be proved, and the proof, under Professor Mason's examination, is by no means conclusive. Many of the decrees of the Commune, he thinks, "exhibit a distinctly socialist leaning" in that they show "a tendency to conceive the 18th of March [1871] as a revolution on behalf of the proletariat directed against the possessing class." The Commune concerned itself seriously with working class conditions and the financial ideas of its leaders inclined them to side with the debtors. None of the social and economic legislation, however, seems to Professor Mason to be socialist in the narrow sense, notwithstanding that "it was the sort of legislation that a socialist government in charge of a municipality might be expected to enact under the circumstances." Essentially it was palliative, the more fundamental reforms being postponed for a more favorable moment.

Marx's view of the Commune must, of course, be read in the light of his philosophy of history, but Professor Mason finds it "almost pure myth." "His vested interest in the economic interpretation of history and the theory of the class struggle made him see in the revolution of March 18 an internationalist, a proletarian and a socialist movement in what was in reality an essentially patriotic, not to say chauvinist, revolt, only partially proletarian and only secondarily socialist." Lenin, reviewing the matter many years later, discerned in Marx an advocacy of revolution as the only method of accomplishing the transition to a socialist society, and while pointing to the Commune as a great example, did not hesitate to criticize it for its lack of solidarity and thoroughness. The Commune itself, Professor Mason concludes, "was not essentially a socialist movement," notwithstanding that the Socialists, adhering to the legendary Marxian view, have made it "a battle cry for the proletariat of the world." "At the outset it recruited its adherents from another milieu.

and, although at the end its strength had simmered down to a revolutionary group pretty thoroughly imbued with socialism, its impetus and *raison d'être* are to be found in causes which lie outside the domain of socialism."

Latin America

By LEO J. MEYER

Department of History, New York University

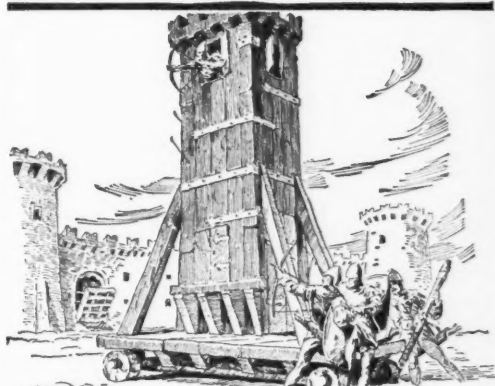
THE PEOPLE AND POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1930. \$4.60.

THE tendency to generalize superficially in regard to Latin America, to ignore the vast differences that exist between the individual States, will find a valuable corrective in this book, which is by all odds the best general account of the subject that has thus far appeared. As the title suggests, the discussion of the political development of the individual republics is based on a study of the life and character of the people who inhabit them.

In interpreting the great differences in the historical development of the Latin-American States, Professor Williams has emphasized such fundamental matters as geographic and climatic conditions which in themselves would have stamped a variety of cultures on the different sections as well as the aboriginal and Hispanic influences that took shape in the pre-Columbian and colonial period. Their history the author would agree "lies not near, but in nature." Having discussed these differentiating factors, Professor Williams proceeds to trace the political growth of the Latin-American countries from colonial times to the present.

Since this work is largely intended for college use, more attention is given to the relations of the Latin American republics with the United States than with European nations. Though this may lay the author open to the criticism of having produced an unbalanced book, overemphasis on the part played by the United States in the history of Latin America is excusable and even desirable in view of the importance of the region in our international relations today. The Latin-American policy of the United States is treated with insight and accuracy. At the same time, unlike many writers of books designed for use as texts, Professor Williams has not hesitated to express her opinions when the facts seem to justify them.

The Spanish-American War is frankly viewed by Professor Williams as unnecessary, a conflict that could have been avoided had President McKinley been stronger and less concerned about the effect a peaceful settle-



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ment in the face of an overwhelming sentiment for war would have had upon his party's prestige. Nor is the unpleasant sentiment in Latin America toward the United States ignored or glossed over. These are explained as being due to fear and suspicion of the "Colossus of the North," a natural reaction to such things as the growth of the United States (much of it at the expense of Latin America), the acquisition of the Canal Zone, the Platt amendment, our Caribbean policy, dollar diplomacy, and the unilateral interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, upon which the United States has insisted in the past. The treatment of these problems is necessarily brief yet adequate.

Unemployment

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

UNEMPLOYMENT—A PROBLEM IN INDUSTRY. By Sir William Beveridge. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. \$7.50.

AS the business depression deepened in the United States, anxiety over the ever increasing number of unemployed preoccupied public discussion more and more. Again the country was caught unprepared to cope with a social menace of major significance. As bread lines grew in number and length, as Presidential proclamations came on the heels of those of State Governors and other public officials for relief during the Winter, as socially minded wealth was being mobilized to succor the needy who wanted and were able to work, it must also have become exasperatingly clear that the situation confronting the country was not unique, and has had, in fact, its counterpart in previous depressions and that outside grandiose talk of adjusting public construction to industrial activity, absolutely nothing had been done to prepare the country for such a catastrophe as had immersed millions of self-respecting families.

In New York State, Governor Roosevelt was overwhelmingly elected on a platform which provided for a commission to make a "scientific study of unemployment, employment exchanges, unemployment insurance." The Commission might well have begun its important task by giving its fullest attention to the discussion on unemployment by that eminent authority on the subject, Sir William Beveridge. It need hardly be pointed out to students of the problem that Sir William Beveridge first published his monumental work in 1909 and that it led Winston Churchill into the "daring adventure" securing the enactment of the first compulsory insurance act against unemployment in Great Britain. Sir William Beveridge has repub-

lished his 1909 edition and has appended to it a second part, which promises to become no less epochmaking. Here he reviews the history of unemployment and unemployment insurance since the first edition was published. Because of the soundness of the principles discussed in the first part and the practical workings of these principles as discussed in the second part, the volume makes a unified contribution of the greatest economic and social significance.

Sir William sweeps aside mere relief and at once brings us to the root of the problem, not that of the unemployed but that of unemployment. What makes for unemployment, not merely during periods of depression but also during periods of prosperity, when, as his careful investigation shows, a considerable number of workless groups roam through the industrial fields? The problem is not solved by a mere discussion of gold or of the tariff or of fiscal and taxation problems. Sir William performs a service by showing us that the causes and consequently the means of alleviation are much more intricate than is often supposed by those who attach primary importance to any one theory or aspect.

Briefly summarized, Sir William sees unemployment as the product of two important conditions. First, there is the casual labor that creates an "anarchic recruiting of trades and blind choice of careers." Seasonal and unstabilized industries recruit from this labor and then throw the labor back on to society. Sir William insists that charity to these laborers in distress amounts to a subsidy to the industry. The industry must be forced to provide a fund to take care of seasonal and cyclical unemployment. Moreover, the labor market should be organized under a nationally synchronized employment bureau that will keep young men mobile in response to shifting industry but will stabilize the place of employment for older men with families.

Secondly, Sir William, after examining a large group of causes for cyclical depressions, finds the chief cause in the disequilibrium between capital production and consumption of manufactured products. He finds that "many people save simply because they can not spend, and are therefore constantly trying to invest in the means of fresh production more than can, with the existing demand, be profitably invested. What, however, happens when they begin to operate the new means of production? Even the very rich will not produce indefinitely without markets, and being driven to the choice between abandoning their investments or lowering prices to increase demand, will normally take the latter course. This may mean going with less or no profits. The real standard of consumption is raised by a lowering of money prices." Trade fluctuation is, indeed, at times obviously and directly the

means by which the standard of production and of comfort are driven upwards, that is, it is a transference of wealth from the capitalist to the worker. It is of as much significance to capital as to labor. In brief, trade fluctuation can be minimized by increasing wages to permit the constant exchange of goods and by establishing unemployment insurance to prevent decreasing purchasing power.

Sir William Beveridge's book is comforting in that he tells us that our problems are not created by God but are subject to intelligent adjustment, that practicable means exist by which the social disease of periodic unemployment can be eliminated from the social body, and that the need for such elimination is not only necessary for social and humanitarian reasons but that in this case even greedy industrialists would fare better if only their greed were intelligent rather than stupid.

The American Leviathan

By L. V. UPDEGRAFF

THE AMERICAN LEVIATHAN: THE REPUBLIC IN THE MACHINE AGE. By Charles A. Beard and William Beard. 824 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$5.

THOMAS HOBBS, an exile from Cromwellian England, produced *Leviathan* in 1651 as a defense of royal absolutism; from Professor Beard and William Beard, writing *The American Leviathan* in 1930 one might expect a defense of absolute democracy. But their book is not that; it is not a book of political philosophy but a critical and exhaustive account of the American Federal Government as it exists today. It is as up-to-date almost as this morning's newspaper. Historical sidelights on institutions are limited, while emphasis is laid heavily upon modern developments—generally since 1900—and these modern developments are the most startling facts in our brief history.

Roughly, the first half of this generous volume is devoted to the organization of the government—the forms that have been handed down from the founders and imbedded in the Constitution. The latter half may be studied as the picture of this government at work, confronted by the amazing technological advance that has changed all the conditions of life and entangled America in world affairs in a way that was unsuspected a generation ago. The specific problem set by the Beards is how our government with "a cultural heritage from the ancient agricultural order" is conducted in a country revolutionized by science and machinery. The "challenge" to the nation "is that of combining the noblest philosophy

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Nowhere has the machine age changed the problems of the American Government more than in foreign affairs—the field in which it clings most tightly to its old concepts. But according to the conclusions of the authors of *The American Leviathan*, American isolation is not only impracticable but involves great dangers: "The theory that the United States can, in its own interest, refuse to take part in world adjustments, becomes more doubtful every day. Without being involved in any alliances it has been drawn into two of the European wars fought since the opening of the nineteenth century. It can formulate no important policy without affecting the European balance of power. It cannot safely curtail its expenditures for national defense without reaching an agreement with competing countries. No shift can be made in European affairs without affecting our destiny. Hence the

Continued on Page XXVI



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CURRENT HISTORY

Contents for February 1931

PART I—SPECIAL ARTICLES:

THE ORDEAL OF THE RHINELAND.....	<i>Herbert Eulenberg</i>	641
IS CANADIAN LIQUOR CONTROL A FAILURE?.....	<i>Ernest Thomas</i>	649
THE LEGAL PHILOSOPHY OF JUSTICES HOLMES AND BRANDEIS..	<i>Walter H. Hamilton</i>	654
AMERICAN FOREIGN TRADE, 1830-1930.....	<i>Henry Chalmers</i>	661
VIENNA'S EXPERIENCE AS A SOCIALIST CITY.....	<i>Morrow Mayo</i>	667
CHURCH AND STATE IN MEXICO.....	<i>Abbé Alphonse Lugan</i>	672
FAMILIES CONSPICUOUS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.....	<i>Arthur D. Howden Smith</i>	677
THE REIGN OF TERROR IN THE UKRAINE.....	<i>Milton Wright</i>	681
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE IN RETROSPECT.....	<i>Frederic A. Ogg</i>	685
EUROPEAN FARMING IN A NEW PHASE.....	<i>Nathan S. Russell</i>	692
THE CHANGING AMERICAN HOME.....	<i>May Wood-Simons and Miriam Simons Leuck</i>	697
BROAD SCOPE OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY.....	<i>Edwin L. Shuman</i>	702
ARGENTINA: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.....	<i>William L. Schurz</i>	708
A PROJECTED FEDERATION OF THE BALKANS.....	<i>J. M. Scammell</i>	712
SOCIAL INSURANCE IN AMERICA.....	<i>John B. Andrews</i>	716
IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS ON THE PACIFIC COAST—		
I.....	<i>A. S. Whiteley</i>	720
II.....	<i>Reginald Bell</i>	722
III.....	<i>Roy Malcom</i>	726
A NEW ATTACK ON AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.....	<i>Albert Bushnell Hart</i>	728
IS THE UNIVERSE DISINTEGRATING?.....	<i>Watson Davis</i>	731
TEXT OF THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL ON MARRIAGE.....		797

PART II—A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY..... 741-796

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.....	<i>James T. Gerould</i> Princeton University	THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES.....	<i>Sidney B. Fay</i> Harvard University
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.....	<i>Philip C. Nash</i> Director, the League of Nations Association	ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.....	<i>Eloise Ellery</i> Vassar College
THE UNITED STATES.....	<i>D. E. Wolf</i>	EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS..	<i>F. A. Ogg</i> University of Wisconsin
MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA...	<i>C. W. Hackett</i> University of Texas	NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE..	<i>J. H. Wuorinen</i> Columbia University
SOUTH AMERICA.....	<i>Henry G. Doyle</i> George Washington University	THE SOVIET UNION.....	<i>Edgar S. Furniss</i> Yale University
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.....	<i>J. Bartlet Brebner</i> Columbia University	THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST..	<i>Albert H. Lybyer</i> University of Illinois
FRANCE AND BELGIUM.....	<i>Othon G. Guerlac</i> Cornell University	THE FAR EAST.....	<i>Harold S. Quigley</i> University of Minnesota

BOOKS OF THE MONTH—CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS—TO AND FROM OUR READERS—
WORLD FINANCE

[CONTENTS COPYRIGHTED 1931]

g 641
s 649
n 654
s 661
o 667
n 672
h 677
ht 681
g 685
ll 692
ck 697
n 702
rz 708
ll 712
s 716
ey 720
ll 722
m 726
rt 728
is 731
.. 797
41-796
B. Fay
ersity
Ellery
ollege
A. Ogg
consin
uorinen
ersity
Furniss
ersity
Lybyer
Illinois
Quigley
nesota
ADERS-



VISCOUNT WILLINGDON
Governor General of Canada who has been appointed Viceroy of India to
succeed Lord Irwin

Times Wide W



THEODORE STEEG
The new French Premier

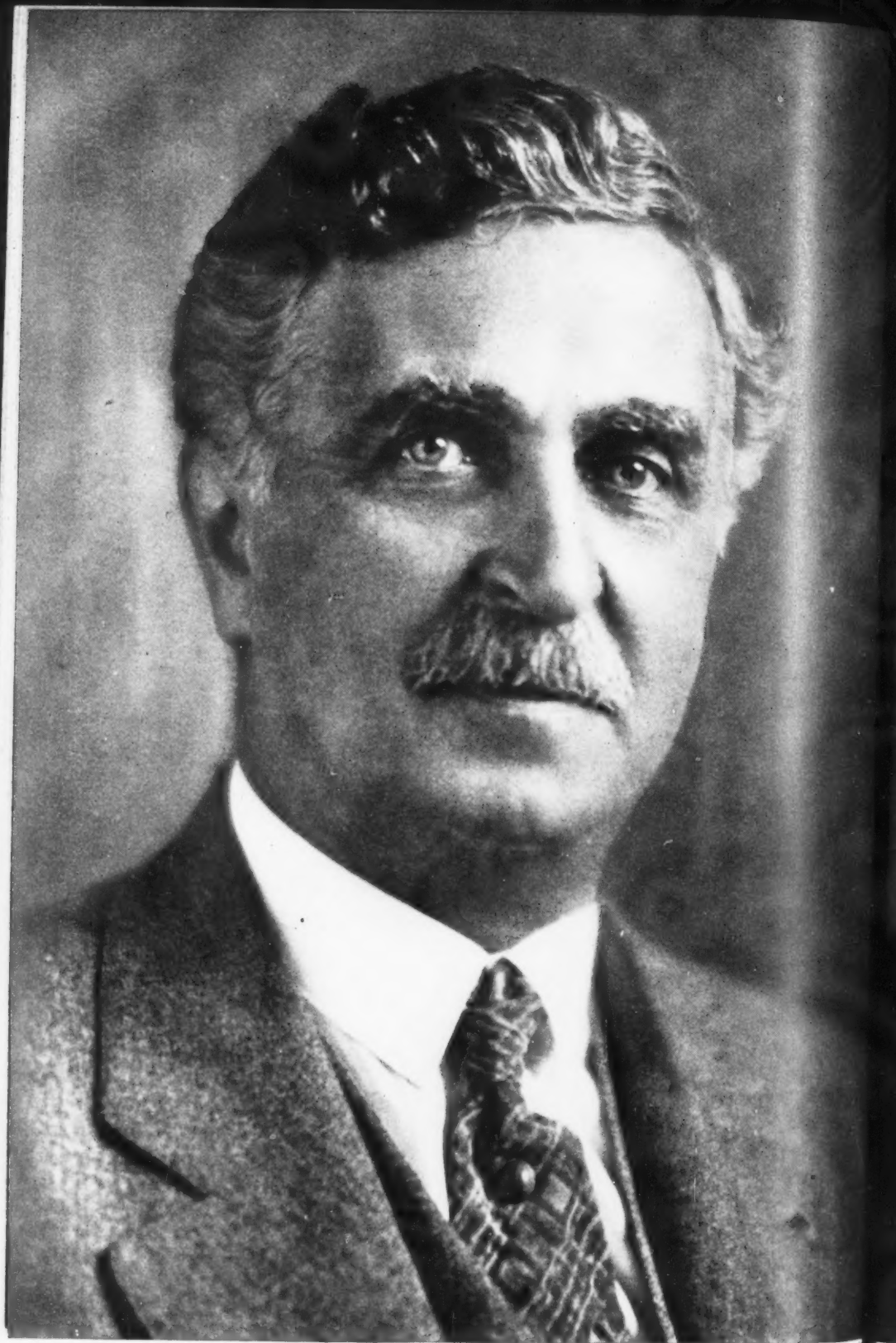
Underwood & Co.



VIACHESLAV MOLOTOFF

Who became Soviet Premier (President of the Council of Commissars)
upon the dismissal of Rykov

Courtesy Russky Golos



GEORGE OTIS SMITH

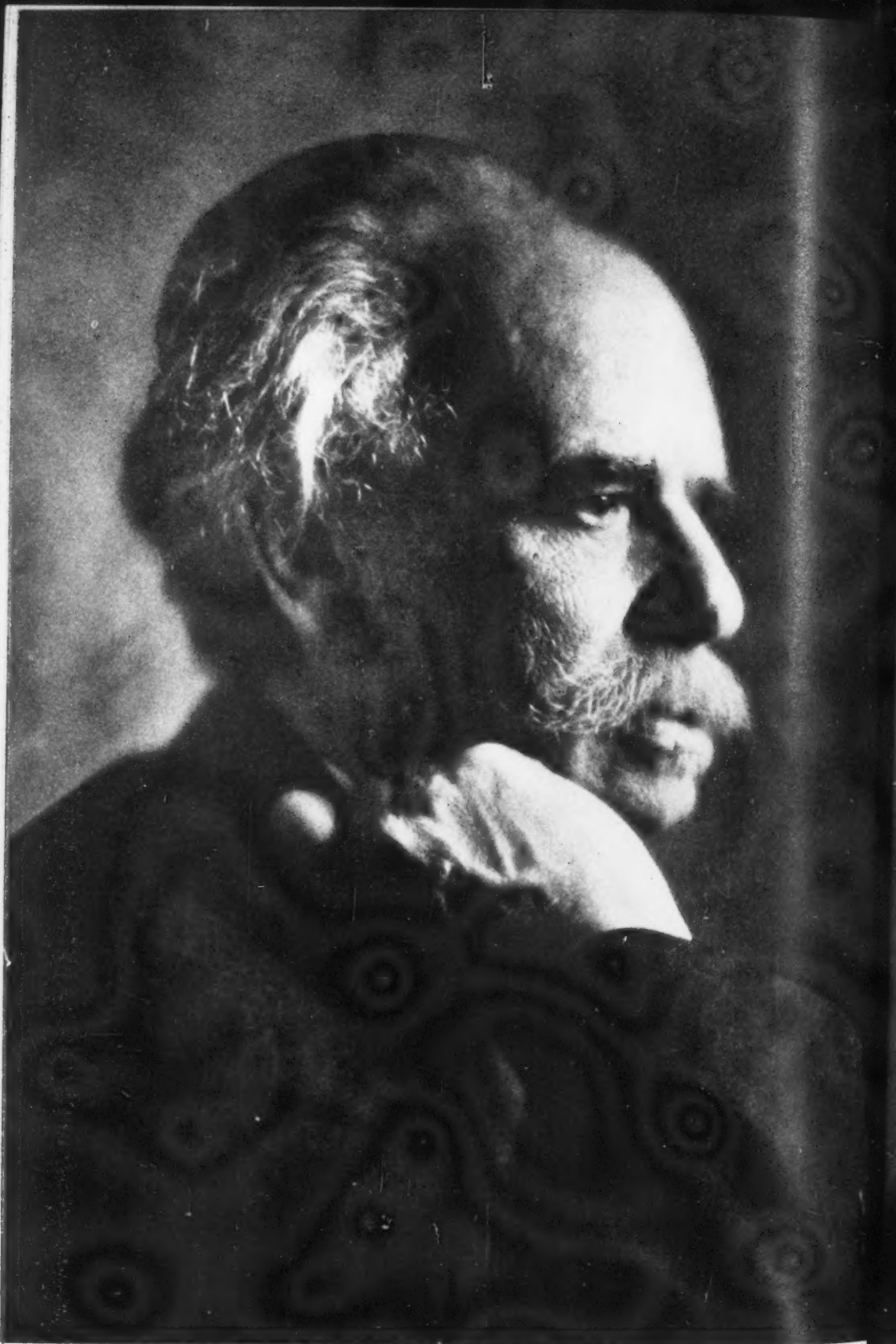
Who has been appointed chairman of the new Federal Power Commission



EZRA BRAINERD

The new chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission

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DR. FRANZ BOAS

Noted anthropologist who was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science



DR. RICARDO J. ALFARO
The new President of Panama

Harris & E



MARSHAL JOFFRE

The hero of the first Battle of the Marne, who died on Jan. 3

CURRENT HISTORY

FEBRUARY 1931

The Ordeal of the Rhineland

By HERBERT EULENBERG

Dr. Herbert Eulenberg was born at Mulheim on the Rhine on Jan. 26, 1876, and now lives at Kaiserwerth, near Düsseldorf. A graduate in law, he has become known as one of Germany's distinguished men of letters, author of numerous successful plays and books and a poet of high repute. In 1914 he engaged in a notable controversy with his former friend, Bernard Shaw, over Great Britain's entry into the war. His latest work is a history of the Hohenzollerns (published in 1929), which has attracted much attention in Europe and America. In politics Dr. Eulenberg is a Liberal.

THE depressing period of the Rhineland occupation should be divided into two quite different phases. The first lasted from November, 1918, to January, 1923, when the American troops were withdrawn and the Ruhr was occupied. The second continued under the more drastic pressure applied to Germany by the French and Belgian Governments until the end of September, 1923, which marked the abandonment of the so-called passive resistance by the Germans and the coming into force of the Stresemann conciliation policy.

These phases of the occupation were totally distinct and should be judged differently. The first merely provided for an interallied occupation of the Rhineland according to the terms of the armistice and the subsequent peace treaty; the second was no more or less than a punitive expedition against Germany undertaken by the French and Belgian Governments on their own account with-

out British participation and in entire opposition to the wishes of the American Government.

During the first period of occupation, to be sure, the measures adopted were severe enough. While there had been only twenty-eight garrisons in the Rhineland before the armistice, more than 300 towns and villages in the occupied Rhine territory were now garrisoned by interallied troops and representatives of the Rhineland Commission. The kind of expense this involved is illustrated by the fact that the occupation cost the German Government for the seven months from May 1 to Dec. 31, 1921, the sum of 3,691,589,000 paper marks [about \$40,000,000].*

The worst effects of the occupation arose from the quartering of so many

*The value of the German mark after 1919 dropped from month to month and from week to week, and by 1923 from day to day. From May to December, 1921, the paper mark fluctuated from 1½ cents to ¼ cent. By the end of 1923 the paper mark was valueless, 1,000,000,000,000 paper marks being worth 1 gold mark.

troops. The French Army in the Rhineland in 1921 alone had 89,948 men, of whom 19,480 were colored, as well as 3,094 officers. The so-called Rhineland Commission was outrageously overmanned. According to Article II of the Rhineland agreement it was to consist of four members. In place of four, however, it had by December, 1920, grown into a gigantic control organization with 1,300 members. It is evident that this amounted to the creation of a second government alongside the permanent German civil administration. For the most part these 1,300 persons were occupied in either doing nothing or in carrying on propaganda for French culture.

Such a huge governmental machine naturally required enormous sums of money. For instance, it cost about \$15,000 to prepare accommodations for the chairman of the Rhineland Commission. The head of the German civil administration in the Rhineland had to turn over his official residence to him at once, and then it had to be fitted out in princely style with furniture from the castles of Coblenz and Brühl. Later a specially valuable rug, worth about \$5,000, was requisitioned from the Coblenz castle and put to hard usage. At Mainz the Rhine Army required a parquet floor in the bedroom of the Commander-in-Chief, in the former princely castle because in a few places the flooring creaked. And it could not be an ordinary parquet floor, either, but had to match exactly the other rooms of the castle. The castle at Wiesbaden, which had been requisitioned for a General in command, had to be fitted out for him by express command as if the German Emperor were to occupy it. Despite a statement by the representative of the city of Wiesbaden that the Kaiser and his family had occupied the castle only in Summer and used only candles, all the rooms had to be equipped with electric lights at once. Moreover, the General demanded twenty-six rooms, including four bathrooms, for himself

alone. He also found the well of the grand staircase too bare, so that a rich display of flowers and plants had to be installed immediately for his eyes to feast upon.

The quarters of a district representative in the British zone required the expenditure of 465,000 paper marks [about \$4,600], because he also had some special desires of his own. For example, a bed canopy of blue silk and quilts of rose silk, Indian and Boucher rugs. Department representatives, who ranked as First Lieutenants, invariably demanded six master bedrooms, a large reception room and a dining room, as well as two servants' rooms, a kitchen and a stable.

Entire hotels were taken over for officers' clubs. Often upon the request of the occupation authorities the equipment had to be augmented with fresh supplies of cooking utensils, dishes, china and silver. For example, this involved the Hotel Metropol at Wiesbaden, which had been turned into an officers' club, in an expenditure of 174,194 marks. The news that an officers' mess was to be established in a private house so frightened its owners and occupants that every one who was able to do so took to flight in order to avoid the hubbub and damage of an officers' mess, where everything not made of stone or iron was bound to go to pieces sooner or later.

How frightful this requisitioning of private dwellings was for the German population, already suffering from a housing shortage due to the suspension of building operations during the war, may be seen from a bulletin dated Dec. 1, 1921. This stated that 9,700 dwellings, with 38,000 rooms, in addition to 13,000 single rooms, in all more than 50,000 rooms, had been taken over by the foreign forces of occupation for the housing of their officers, non-commissioned officers and men.

What this meant for a single city is apparent when we remember that 19,300 soldiers of occupation were

quartered at Mainz, a city of only 108,555 inhabitants, that is, one soldier for every five Germans. The worst sufferers were the smaller towns and villages, which until then had never had garrisons or seen soldiers. Thus a quiet little watering place like Kreuznach, with only 26,000 inhabitants, was suddenly occupied by 2,200 men. We can well imagine how the business of entertaining visitors from Germany and other countries shrank to almost nothing at Kreuznach. In fact, its patrons, who generally numbered from 15,000 to 20,000 a year, were only a few hundred foreigners during the occupation.

In still smaller places, like Siegburg and Oberkassel, the yoke of occupation imposed upon the residents was even more terrible. In such towns school buildings were the favorite places for quartering troops. Where the children were taught in the meantime was a matter of entire indifference to the foreign gentlemen. According to a careful investigation there were sixty schools, with 386 classes and 16,450 pupils, occupied by troops in thirty-five places on Nov. 1, 1921. What happened in 1919 and 1920 is evident from figures showing that in the French zone alone 258 schools in 154 localities were requisitioned. In the British zone they were just as ruthless in this matter. There 251 school buildings were taken over—a severe measure, which evicted 6,650 school children. It has been calculated that the expense incurred through the seizure of schools amounted to 21,300,000 marks [approximately \$200,000] up to Nov. 1, 1921, alone. During the occupation the pupils in the continuation schools, for the most part, received instruction in the store rooms of the few unoccupied school buildings.

In addition to the expenses of quartering the troops of occupation and the constant forced delivery of supplies to them, a continuous flow of money was required for the purchase of land, for new buildings and recon-

struction, for freight transportation and for the upkeep of the land and buildings taken over by the foreign troops in the Rhineland. Damage caused by fire alone cost the German Reich 15,000,000 marks [about \$150,000] by the end of 1922. The occupation authorities in every case refused to admit liability for losses, on the ground that the court inquiry regarding responsibility had reached no definite result. By April 1, 1922, the cost of occupation, which had amounted to \$1,000,000,000 on the same date a year before, had risen to 6,000,000,000 gold marks [about \$1,500,000,000].

Quite apart from these economic losses inflicted upon the German Reich during the period of occupation there was the moral harm which it wrought and which had particularly serious and lasting consequences. It is true that only the French authorities demanded brothels. The establishment of such houses for the troops of France cost more than 1,000,000 marks up to 1922. The conversion by express order of the inn known as *Zur Deutschen Flagge* (Under the German Flag) into a brothel at Bad Ems was another particularly malicious act of a French official who perhaps thought he was very clever. The Rhenish Palatinate, in which only French troops were quartered, suffered especially from the moral laxity arising from the presence of soldiers. Venereal diseases increased there to such an extent that instead of the 386 cases recorded before the war the number was 1,081 by 1920.

The mingling of the forces of occupation with the inhabitants was unavoidable, especially at the beginning. At that time theatres and movie houses were frequently taken over by the occupation troops without payment or for a very small sum. By Nov. 1, 1921, twenty-three theatres in seventeen cities and fifty-one movie houses in thirty-three towns had been commandeered in this manner. This meant a loss of 17,700,000 marks to

the German Reich, which was obliged to indemnify the theatre owners.

The amount of arable and other land which was rendered non-productive by occupation may be seen from the following figures: The former German aviation fields used by the troops of occupation totaled 2,782 acres. During the period of occupation a total of 3,218 acres of good arable land, some of it of the best, was demanded for the construction of new flying fields in addition to those already in existence. Furthermore, new sites for parade grounds were demanded, besides the 9,386 acres of former German rifle ranges and manoeuvre fields. In Ludwigswinkel in the Rhenish Palatinate the laying out of a large French divisional manoeuvre field alone cost the German Reich 200,000,000 marks. It has been calculated that in Bad Kreuznach, which previously had no facilities to accommodate soldiers, a total of 660 acres of cultivated land was made useless because it had to serve for rifle ranges, drill grounds, aviation fields and other military purposes.

It may be mentioned in passing that the issuing of free hunting licenses to members of the occupation armies and of the Rhineland Commission led to considerable damage to the game and the fields. The careless use of the excellent hunting facilities by various members of the occupying forces caused especial bitterness among the inhabitants, who had to stand by helplessly and watch this deliberate extermination of their stock of game and the partial ruin of their arable land after the return of peace.

The restrictions placed by the occupation on community and club life were responsible for a great deal of bad blood. Even the rifle clubs which, as in Flanders and Holland, are numerous along the Rhine, were forbidden to shoot with their harmless old guns and were only permitted to use medieval cross-bows at their tournaments.

Nevertheless, the sufferings during

this first period of the occupation up to January, 1923, were endurable, compared with the torment and terror that began with the occupation of the Ruhr. For one thing, during the first period it was possible to count upon a definite end of the occupation in compliance with the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, the American troops left the zone they had occupied before the stipulated period had elapsed. But, with the French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr as a "sanction," there was not the slightest hint as to how long this punitive measure would last. So the people saw themselves at the mercy of arbitrary rule for an entirely indefinite time.

During the first period a certain degree of freedom of opinion was permitted. Particularly in the American and British zones, there was no strict supervision of newspapers, which, providing they refrained from insulting or attacking the troops of occupation, could print almost anything. But with the occupation of the Ruhr, press censorship of the most drastic sort began.

In addition to the uncertainty as to the duration of this raid, there was a psychological consideration, disregarded by Poincaré and the French Government, which made the situation more difficult. The people of the Rhineland, owing to their more care-free disposition, could better endure the burdens and annoyances of the occupation than could the people of the Ruhr. As neighbors the Rhinelanders felt themselves nearer in spirit to the French, with whom in the main they had dealings, than the rest of the Germans. But with the extension of the occupied zone across the Ruhr and into Westphalia the French encountered a quite different, much sterner type. The Westphalians had much less understanding of the French. Because of this greater contrast more friction developed at the beginning, and from month to month intensified the hatred of the foreign intruders, which persists to this day.

In the Ruhr France experienced a defeat instead of the hoped-for victory. Today it seems quite amazing, almost humorous, to us when we recall the warlike manner in which the French and Belgians began the occupation of the Ruhr. The German Reich had issued the famous rallying cry of passive resistance, so that there was no aggressive attitude on the part of the population to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, the French and Belgian troops marched in fully equipped for battle, temporarily avoiding the British zone of occupation, as the British Government had declared from the first that it would not participate in this punitive expedition. Only later did the British allow the use of the railroad through their district for military transportation.

In ninety-five long railroad trains French troops poured into the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial district via Düsseldorf, which then and for a considerable time had the largest garrison on the European Continent and had to accommodate more than 18,000 soldiers. Equipped with plenty of armored cars, a host of soldiers now overran the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial district. The French alone had mustered two army corps and five divisions, besides a cavalry division, against the defenseless population. An entirely open and undefended city like Essen was encircled and hemmed in by means of a deploying manoeuvre requiring several hours. Perhaps this was because they expected or secretly hoped for some resistance from the city of Krupp, the cannon king. At last, toward noon, the city was "captured" and the French and Belgian officers' automobiles, covered by heavily armed tanks, triumphantly rolled up before the offices of the coal trust.

All the other cities of the Ruhr district, such as Gelsenkirchen, Bochum and Dortmund, also were similarly captured without casualties, but with a mighty display of artillery, tanks, infantry and cavalry.

Then there was immediately a repetition of the crimes prompted by panic which had occurred during the early days of the first occupation period. Incited by their anti-German press, many of the soldiers of occupation at first saw in every German a Hun who liked to roast little enemy children for dinner. This was the cause of many outrages, such as firing upon houses or shooting suspicious persons merely from fear of being attacked or surprised.

Poincaré's declaration—"the lives and activities of the population are not endangered in the least through the occupation"—existed only on paper. In reality the French very soon began to take action against the disagreeable German industrialists either by banishing them to unoccupied Germany or by locking them up as hostages. Many Mayors and Deputy Mayors, as in Duisberg, Buer, Oberhausen and elsewhere, were arrested and kept for months in jail in dirty and unsanitary cells or dungeons.

The green-uniformed German police, the so-called Schupo, as competitors, were a particular thorn in the side of the French officers and soldiers. The Essen police force, having in some way displeased General Degoutte, was disbanded, with the help of a French regiment of infantry and twenty-two tanks. The Gelsenkirchen police officials were dragged off to Recklinghausen and held there for days in makeshift jails. Railroad men and other workers who apparently were also recalcitrant were treated with the same severity. At that time the greatest horror and indignation was aroused by the shooting of twelve employes of the Krupp steel plant at Essen. In those days violent and arbitrary acts by the Franco-Belgian troops of occupation were of daily occurrence all over the Ruhr district.

Attacks upon banks and agencies of the Reichsbank and postoffices also were the order of the day. In March 9,000,000 marks were "seized" at the postoffice in Bochum, and at the end

of May 965,000,000 marks belonging to the Reichsbank at Essen. These are merely two examples of the constant looting that was then prevalent.

For every Frenchman who lost his life during the whole of this warlike raid carried out in peacetime, bloody reprisals were at once made, and unfortunately, as a rule, upon entirely innocent persons. Two French adjutants who were found shot at Dortmund on the night of June 9-10, 1923, were avenged the same night—the so-called St. Bartholomew's Night of Dortmund—by the summary execution of seven peaceable persons—one of them a Swiss—who happened to pass by the scene of the murder. When a French sentry was shot accidentally by his own comrades at Essen, in the middle of March, the excited soldiers were turned loose upon the populace; not satisfied with this, General Degoutte, Commander-in-Chief of the French occupation troops, levied \$5,000 on the city of Essen early in April and "collected" this sum from the City Treasury. Dr. Grimm, the official German legal defender appointed by the French, has required a stout volume for the listing of the outrages and arbitrary acts committed by the French and Belgian troops during the occupation of the Ruhr.

How the German newspapers were gagged and oppressed during this period may be seen from the following facts: After the above-mentioned bloody incident at Krupp's all the Essen newspapers, except a Communist paper, were suspended for a week. From Feb. 10 to Nov. 5, 1923, the *Bochumer Anzeiger* was suppressed six times, covering seventy-three publication days. Both owners of the *Langendreer Zeitung* were sentenced by a court-martial to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000,000 marks for disseminating articles alleged to have threatened the security of the French troops. Altogether during these terrible months fifteen publishers and twenty-two editors were deprived of their liberty for longer

or shorter terms. Six editors were expelled from the district. And many counted themselves lucky in being able to escape into unoccupied territory before being arrested. An ugly spy system was spread like a net over the entire occupied Ruhr district by the French and frequently unsuspecting persons were caught in the meshes of this sinister web. Only six of the seventy newspapers in the Ruhr and the Rhineland escaped the ban during the occupation. All the others either were curbed by a drastic censorship or were oppressed by constant regulations.

The indignation of the Rhenish-Westphalian population under the continuous pressure of this forced enemy occupation, which was not warranted by any treaty, finally culminated in those attacks upon the French and Belgian troops of which the Schlageter case has become the best known. This hot-headed insurgent, who already had waged war on his own account with a band of shock troops in the Baltic region and Upper Silesia, blew up a short stretch of the important Düsseldorf-Duisberg railroad, without, however, doing much damage to the operation of the French Government line. Presumably betrayed by a comrade, he was court-martialed and shot on Golzheim Common near Düsseldorf.

Despite the naturally prejudiced assertions of Poincaré, the economic gain for France and Belgium through the Ruhr occupation was not great. The *Mission Interalliée de Contrôle des Usines et des Mines* (Interallied Factories and Mines Control Commission), generally labeled "Micum" from its initials, the Franco-Belgian operating unit, did its best, indeed, to get its hands on the Ruhr coal. And it was aided in this by a commission of French, Belgian and Italian engineers. But up to April, as Poincaré himself had to admit in the Chamber of Deputies, the yield was insignificant from the industries which had been seized as plagues. Thereupon the

French and Belgians initiated a still more ruthless policy of exploitation. In the meantime attempts to sell the stolen coal in England and other countries failed. And soon home industry in France and Belgium resisted any further dumping of coal, coke and other products "seized" in the Ruhr district.

The passive resistance of an unarmed but hostile people made more trouble than the French had expected. With rare unanimity the German working masses, under their trade union leaders, lined up with the employers and capitalists in their defensive measures against the encroachments of the French and Belgians. "Formerly we had little desire to be ground under the heel of Prussian militarism. Still less are we inclined to allow ourselves to be enslaved by a foreign military power." This was the universal feeling of the free workers both along and on the Rhine, for the engineers and firemen of the Rhine steamers took the same stand as their comrades in the mines and smelters.

Consequently the confiscation of coal and iron did not go so smoothly or so far at first as had been hoped in Paris and Brussels. Only in the Fall of the ill-fated year of 1923, when already more than sixty German mines had been occupied by the enemy and the entire coal traffic was gradually coming under foreign control, did the situation begin to become serious from the German viewpoint and pressure begin to be applied toward ending "passive resistance." Then for a while Germans even considered the possibility of flooding all the Ruhr mines. But all thought of this act of extreme desperation was definitely renounced when Stresemann's skill succeeded in opening peaceful negotiations with the chief opponent—France.

But apart from the fact that the economic advantages derived by France and Belgium from the Ruhr occupation were slight and temporary because of the constant difficulties

laid in their way by the Germans, France thereby suffered a grievous political setback which shortly afterward led to the fall of Poincaré as the responsible director of this experiment.

The motive behind the whole drive into German territory was France's hope of setting up a Rhineland republic as a buffer State between France and Germany—a buffer State that naturally would be from an economic and military standpoint more dependent upon France than upon Germany, the mother country. Only for this reason, which of course was not admitted or even mentioned, did the military party in France enthusiastically embark on this enterprise in which no laurels of war were to be gathered. It was hoped, in some way or other, to make the Rhine the French frontier—the aim of all French nationalists of that time, even if, at first, it could only be with the help of a French vassal State, namely, the Rhineland republic.

The aid given to the separatist movement by the French is revealed today in a whole series of documents that have been found and published under the title, *Documents Regarding the Occupation of the Rhineland*. At first the leaders of the separatists received all possible favors. They enjoyed free passes on the French railroads and on the lines operated by the French administration. Quarters were constantly provided for them, as is evident from billeting notices. The well-known Dr. Dorten, who carried on his agitation from Wiesbaden, was reported to be in the pay of the French, while the more disinterested Matthes, who represented the temporary government of the Rhineland republic on the lower Rhine, is reported to have received advances for incidental expenses from France. In addition to this, however, the rank and file, the so-called Army of the Separatists, a handful of hastily recruited adventurers, were provided with food by the French troops at Ludwigshafen

and elsewhere. At Speyer and Zweibrücken even the unemployment funds of the German Government were seized for the purpose of supporting or indemnifying the separatists.

Separatism was nipped in the bud by the firm and determined opposition to all separatist tendencies among the working people and the rest of the Rhine population. The refusal of the Rhineland and its people, aside from a few traitors and spies, to be lured by the most dazzling promises of France into deserting the German Reich in this hour of tragic oppression will always remain a glorious page in history.

The flag of the Rhineland republic, which, by order of the French authorities had to be protected, could never be unfurled and remained a fantastic dream, pursued by a mere handful of fools or criminals. And the French Government neither could nor would openly support this little group of erring men who subsequently were either slain as arch traitors or were such marked men that they had to leave German territory. In secret, however, they gave these separatists as much aid as they could, and in Paris there was increasing uneasiness as it became apparent that the separatist movement would not spread. All the attempts of French authorities to arouse sentiment for a republic under French protection by distributing bread and soup among the poorer people were thwarted by the loyal and patriotic spirit of the people.

"To accept kindness from a person who holds a porringer in one hand and a whip in the other is characteristic of dogs, not Germans." With these words the Dortmund school board voiced the sentiment of millions of people. If we evaluate the depressing results of the years of the Rhine-

land occupation, we see that the most serious and disastrous consequence, both to the individual and to society, was the undermining of respect for private property which such an occupation involves. Our modern bourgeois society, which has not yet developed into bolshevism, rests on private property and the sense of its integrity which the old Roman law held to be the foundation of social order. Under an occupation, which, in the words of Clemenceau, is just another method of continuing war in peace time, nothing disintegrates and disappears as quickly as the sense of private property. There is inevitably a general loss of interest in money and its value when, as happened on Jan. 26, 1924, French officials took 29,000,000,000 marks from the Mainz savings bank and made repeated raids upon the public funds. This leads to contempt for industry and order and at the same time fosters despicable greed and plundering.

Realizing this, the United States Government very rightly was the first to decide to abandon the occupation of German territory after the war. Great Britain followed the example. Even in France the destructive and disastrous consequences of such a warlike procedure were recognized with the result that French troops were withdrawn from enemy soil even before the date stipulated in the peace treaty. People realized that the morals of both victor and vanquished are inevitably degraded by the circumstances of an occupation, which undermines honor and faith as the basis of relations between peaceful peoples. The war cry of peace-loving peoples is "No more war!" But in the future another great and just war cry must echo and re-echo among all civilized people: "No more occupation! No more occupation! Nevermore!"

Is Canadian Liquor Control a Failure?

By ERNEST THOMAS

Secretary, Board of Social Service, United Church of Canada

CANADA has tried many methods of escaping the evils associated with liquor; but the problem still remains, and every experiment has continued some old evils or fostered new ones. Only partisan argument sees in the failure of one system the vindication of another.

Prohibition, similar to that of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act, was tried in Canada only during the months immediately before and after the close of the war. At all other times importation and manufacture of liquor for private profit have been carried on freely, and different legislative policies have dealt simply with its distribution. Manufacture and importation in Canada are subject to Federal law, while retail sale is subject to Provincial legislation. While brewery, distillery and winery were free to manufacture for the purpose of sale, every possible means was employed to circumvent the laws which aimed to hinder distribution. A Royal Commission found that firms, including persons prominent in Canadian society, had diverted from the National Treasury millions of dollars by the smuggling and illicit sale of liquor.

Between 1906 and 1916, the use of local option annually swept away hundreds of barrooms. The early years of war produced a new situation, elicited a new spirit; and this suppression of

private sale was made Province-wide. While transport was by horse and buggy, rural life was protected by local option, but unless the area were greatly extended the motor car made such measures useless. At the crisis of the war in 1918, Federal Orders-in-Council prohibited the importation and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. These orders lapsed with the proclamation of peace. In 1920 and 1921 the doors were thrown open, and because of prospective restrictions a vast deluge of liquor poured in. In 1922 Federal law enabled the Provinces to stop imports, but manufacturers were still free to thwart the law. R. T. Ferguson, K. C., representing the distillers of Canada, appeared before a committee of the Ontario Legislature to submit on behalf of his clients a proposal for the sale of sealed packages of liquor to all persons except those who were refused permits. This policy was adopted first in British Columbia, and gradually extended to the other Provinces. This change took place regardless of the political color of the Provincial Government, possibly because of a reaction against war idealism. A great change, too, had come over the tactics of the temperance movement.

For a generation effort had been concentrated on persuading individuals to abstain from liquor; but now

the main attention was given to statutory prohibition. The war had weakened the moral foundations of the personal appeal, and effective use was made of the cry that prohibition was a failure, and, in the light of ultimate aims, this was true. Facing the social bitterness which accompanied enforcement of prohibition many of its supporters wavered; they had not previously thought out the moral rightness of coercion in relation to moderate drinking. Also political confusion ensued when prohibitionists introduced the method of referendum. Unlike the American, the Canadian Constitution has always required that such laws be initiated by the administration which will be responsible for enforcing them. The referendum divorced legislation from this support of the executive and the executive felt little obligation to enforce the laws which it did not initiate. Americans can find a parallel in the reluctance of some States to enforce the Federal law. Consequently vast numbers of electors reverted to the traditional and constitutional procedure and prohibition was lost in the mêlée of party politics.

The new system, known as "government control," established control only over retail sale, leaving importation and manufacture for private initiative. The market value of distillery stocks had fallen so low that real control might have been gained by buying out the distillers. Being left free from control they sought means of distribution by two agencies: wholesale corruption of public officials on the one hand and the development of sale by bootleggers on the other. Here, as in the United States, these scandals were placed at the door not of the lawless distillers but at the door of prohibition. Yet those who were appointed to administer the act were on the whole high-minded citizens, and any advertisement even of an indirect character was met by a government boycott of the offender's products.

Although the wholesale bootlegger may have been conquered, the small

retail bootlegger still flourishes. The profits of the former now come mainly to the public treasury, and though some discount must be made for increased cost of prisons, police and prosecutions, the national and provincial revenues show that income from this source has advanced from \$31,605,000 in 1922 to \$87,412,000 in 1929.

The main plea for the new system was that even if more liquor were consumed it would be taken in small doses instead of by the bottle and that temperance would be promoted even though the total consumption increased. Many discounted this argument and their skepticism has been justified. According to returns supplied by the Federal Government there has been since the introduction of government sale a steady increase in the convictions for drunkenness for each 10,000 of population:

1913	80.3	
1914	79.7	
1915	52.7	First war year.
1916	40.0	Second war year.
1917	34.0	Provinces forbid sale.
1918	25.2	Wartime decrees.
1919	28.7	Demobilization begins.
1920	46.2	War decrees lapse.
1921	39.2	
1922	27.5	Federal law tightens.
1923	28.3	Government sale begins.
1924	30.0	
1925	27.8	
1926	30.0	
1927	33.8	
1928	34.7	

It is clear that there has been no reduction of drunkenness as the new system has gained sway, and the government has sought to keep the figures in this statement as low as possible, even listing charges in many cases under another section of the law.

Another gain from the new system is found in the partial disappearance of the illicit still with its output of moonshine whisky. A major complaint under the earlier régime was that "poison whisky" was killing the people. This would be stopped, it was thought, if the government provided pure liquor. Illicit stills apparently were most numerous in 1923, when

the dry laws were also most effective. Their fading into insignificance, however, was not attended by a similar decline of deaths attributable to alcoholism. Indeed, these have more than doubled; liquor in large doses proves to be poisonous regardless of the governmental label.

The Federal Bureau of Statistics has recently given fresh study to the annual per capita consumption of liquor. It will be noted that the great decrease in consumption of spirits in 1922 is qualified by the fact that before that time non-drinkable spirits had been included; judging by other returns this might affect 10 per cent of the total.

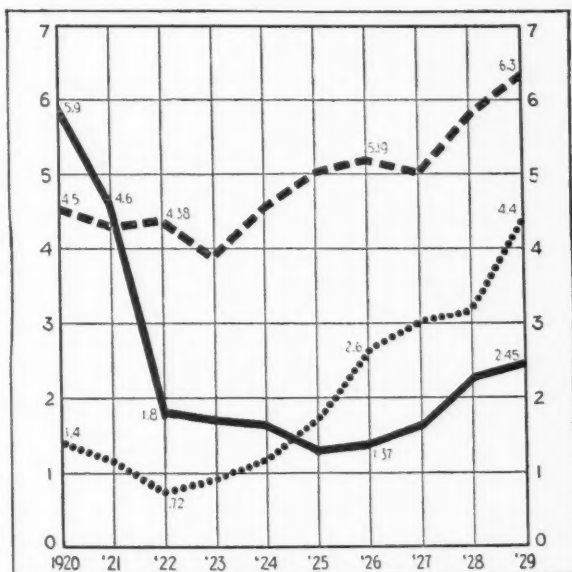
These results may be checked and summarized by taking the various beverages together and recording simply the alcoholic content. Measured by the Canadian standard of proof-gallons, we find that consumption in recent years has been as follows:

Pints per Head	
1920	7.7
1921	8.3
1922	4.6
1923	3.9
1924	3.9
1925	4.2
1926	5.3
1927	5.0
1928	6.7
1929	7.9

Federal law tightens.
Government sale begins.

Apparently the per capita consumption of alcohol has doubled in the six years of government sale. Even so, allowance must be made for the unrecorded illicit purchases in Provinces before the adoption of the new system. These returns, however, are based not on recorded sales but on manufacture plus import, less export and storage.

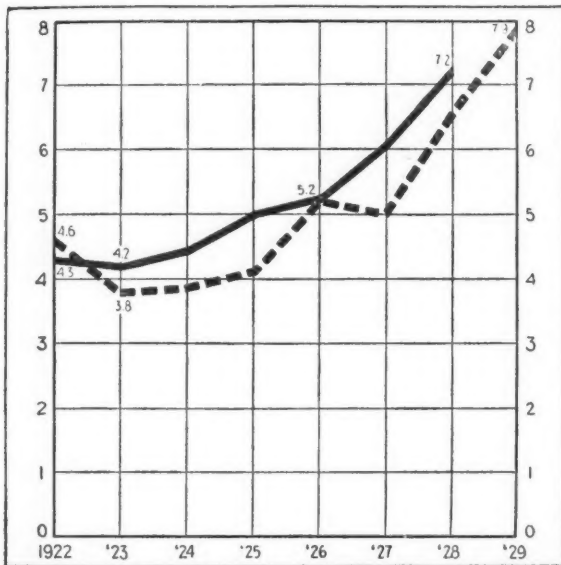
Another test may be found in studying social conditions which normally



PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR 1920-29
Broken line shows gallons of beer; solid line, pints of spirit; dotted line, pints of wine

accompany an increase or decrease of drinking. Totals of criminal statistics have slight value in this connection, for burglary and arson, swindling and banditry do not arise from drink, but rather demand cool heads. When we turn to impulsive acts of violence, either assaults or sexual offenses, an intimate relation is seen between these and the effect of alcohol in breaking down inhibitions and self-control. The graph on page 652 shows the pints of proof spirits consumed each year, and above it the number of convictions for major offenses against women and girls. Except for the slight deviation in 1927, the curves are almost identical. No other factor can explain this parallelism.

In Ontario the persons sentenced to prison for sexual offenses have increased 76 per cent within the last three years as compared with the last year before the new facilities for the purchase of liquor were provided. The same government also reports a similar increase of 42 per cent in the persons sentenced for assault.



LIQUOR CONSUMPTION AND SEX OFFENSES
1922-29

Solid line shows convictions per 100,000 population for sex offenses; broken line shows pints of proof spirits consumed per capita

It would be too much to ascribe the alarming increase in highway accidents altogether to greater indulgence in liquor, but even here the facts are significant. In the nine years, 1920-28, convictions for being intoxicated while driving a car have mounted as follows:

1920..... 48	1925.....609
1921.....142	1926.....724
1922.....202	1927.....953
1923.....353	1928.....1,322
1924.....529	

The Carnegie Laboratories and the British Medical Research Council have shown that alcohol, in amounts equivalent to a pint of average strength beer or a glass of whisky affects all the physical and mental processes involved in driving a car. While the British investigators insist that no definition can be given of intoxication it does maintain that a man should be considered intoxicated when he is unable to discharge safely whatever he is doing. On the street this task may be driving a car, or it may be crossing a street thronged with cars. It is significant that coincident with gov-

ernment sale of liquor in Ontario, total accidents on highways have shown the following ratio to each 10,000 cars:

1926.....	8.6
1927.....	10.8
1928.....	11.3
1929.....	12.2

This may be compared with the return from the Ontario Government Board of Workmen's Compensation, which shows that industrial accidents have increased as follows:

1926.....	65,916
1927.....	71,979
1928.....	79,398
1929.....	87,103

The sales reported by the government liquor stores show an almost identical advance. The sales in 1929 showed an increase of 31 per cent over 1927, the

sales of the first year of government sale. This represents an expenditure of \$17 for every man, woman and child in Ontario and does not include enormous sales direct from the breweries.

Both in Quebec and in Ontario an effort has been made to diminish the consumption of distilled liquors by encouraging the sale of wines. The Quebec Commission in its last report claimed that while the sale of wine advanced 137 per cent, that of spirits advanced only with the gain in population. When this vague statement is reduced to exact figures it is found that in proportion to population the sale of wine increased 113 per cent while spirits showed an unexpected increase of 52 per cent. At the same time during the last year in Ontario there has been a falling off in the consumption of spirits, but this is ascribed by the chief commissioner to the shortage of money in the period of severe depression.

In all these statements allowance has been made for social and economic

change. In two periods, 1910-14 and 1918-23, such disturbances occurred. In the former wholesale immigration of an undesirable character had taken place, followed by a sudden increase in indictable offenses; and in the second period we had the demoralization which accompanied the demobilization of our armies and the business depression. But these in no way affect the parallelism of crimes of violence and the increased drinking. The only marked effect of business conditions appears in the freedom or restriction of expenditure on the more expensive liquors.

But relaxation of the law does not promote obedience. The following table shows convictions for violation of the liquor laws per 10,000 of population in all Canada during recent years:

1916—7.7	} Last year under license.
1917—9.0	
1918—9.0	
1919—8.8	
1920—11.9	} Prohibition lapses.
1921—11.9	
1922—9.5	
1923—11.1	} New restrictions.
1924—11.4	
1925—11.5	} Government sale.
1926—14.4	
1927—14.0	
1928—15.8	

The enforcement of the law was easiest during the period of drastic dry laws. Deterioration set in during the reaction of 1921, from which there was a recovery in 1922, but with the coming and development of government sale, the defiance of liquor laws has almost doubled.

Statistics do not tell the whole truth. Drinking is now confined by law in most Provinces to the home; though a choice of evils, it is the only

one which is in evidence. Young people are acquiring new habits in the home, and recently an eminent citizen of humane sympathies remarked to the writer: "Two years ago it was counted smart to drink; now it is routine. Dinners open with cocktails instead of soup, and the young folk of the home are served like the rest." Some warm-hearted enthusiasts, forgetting the remembered evil in the presence of an actual one, say that the old barroom system was better. But these ardent prohibitionists are alone in having a good word to say for the barroom régime.

Americans need no Canadian to tell them that laws without the support of moral education become ineffective. The loss of support for prohibition laws was in part the result of the neglect of educational effort of the right kind. The Church frequently satisfied itself by demanding the enforcement of law while making no adequate effort to promote personal disuse of liquor.

The persistent increase in the number of persons using permits for the purchase of liquor indicates perpetual recruiting of youth in drinking habits, and this is obviously storing up wrath against some day of doom. Drinking, drunkenness and drink evils are growing. The liquor problem is not solved. Canada has nothing constructive to offer the world except the value of her discovery that government control does not achieve what was expected. Other experiments must be tried, and the suspicion is growing that, while we may not go back to what we had, we cannot long remain as we are.

The Legal Philosophy of Justices Holmes and Brandeis

By WALTON HALE HAMILTON
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BACK of its stately and decorous process of deciding suits at law, the Supreme Court also has its function of statesmanship. The bench can take no initiative; it must wait until a real case between genuine litigants comes before it. But as cause follows cause and individuals plead for protection of their "rights" against legislation, it must decide whether banks can be compelled to guarantee deposits, bakers to sell loaves of a prescribed weight, employment agencies to limit their charges, employers to pay women workers a minimum wage, and cities to be permitted to sell gasoline in competition with private dealers. In short, under "the due process" clause of the Constitution, it determines how far Congress and State Legislatures can go in the regulation of business.

The Supreme Court must also "umpire the Federal system." The Federal Government and the States have their separate domains of control; each must, in regulating business, levy taxes and declaring conduct illegal, be kept within its own province. In days when railroads, pipe lines and radio broadcasts go where they will throughout the land, and a developing society rushes toward an unknown future, the court must draw the changing line between national and local government. If we seriously believe that legislation must conform to

the Constitution, there must be a power to say when it does not; if we honestly intend to maintain the Federal system, some authority must keep nation and State in their places. These tasks have fallen to the United States Supreme Court; its essential concern is the making of public policy.

In its larger rôle the court has not been "a government of laws and not of men." In cases which are merely litigation the bench has been content to allow the established law to have its way. In cases where matters of consequence for the future are at stake, the personnel of the court counts mightily. It was Marshall and not the law who made the Constitution stand for nationalism instead of a mere "federal union of sovereign States." It was Taney, not the writing on parchment, who made "the police power" an instrument for the control of a rising industrial system. It was Field and his like-minded brethren, not the Fourteenth Amendment, who have accorded to business the protection of "the due process" clause. The replacement of Clark, Day and Pitney by Sutherland, Butler and Sanford in 1922 made the bench more conservative; the elevation of Hughes to the Chief Justiceship in 1929 has already given evidence of a liberalizing trend. It would be strange if it were not so. The law cannot escape life; jurists cannot dwell in a legal realm apart

from the world of affairs; underneath legal rites and formulas the issues and values which a man of sense would take into account win consideration. Justices differ in their knowledge and experience, in what appeals and fails to attract; they cannot escape the light of their own understanding. Even as other men, they behave like human beings.

It is a craft, this art of making public policy in deciding suits at law, practiced with greater or less skill in very different ways by the several members of the bench. As a painter, a composer or an architect leaves the mark of his personality upon his product, so does each justice reveal in his opinions the quality of his distinctive workmanship. The connoisseur looks at a piece of fine furniture and names its maker; the musical critic listens to a phonograph record and calls off conductor and orchestra; the student of constitutional law listens to fragments of an opinion and tells the author. The work of jurists lies scattered through the solid and imposing volumes of the official reports. For the general reader who has little chance to sense this individual quality there are two collections of opinions lifted from the records and made into books. The author of the one is Mr. Justice Holmes; of the other, Mr. Justice Brandeis.* Holmes and Brandeis are among the most skilled of current craftsmen, whose work represents the trade of the jurist at its best. The names are closely associated by the public since on questions of importance Holmes, J., and Brandeis, J., are usually found together. Yet the two volumes exhibit very unlike examples of the jurist's art.

The opinions which make up the volumes have been a long time in the making. Of the members of the current court Holmes is the oldest in

years and in service. On March 9 he will celebrate his ninetieth birthday. Brandeis, second in age and fourth in service, is in his seventy-fourth year. A jurist, unlike a man of letters, cannot write as the spirit moves him. He has to await his case, write as much as its issue will allow and abide in peace until a suitable cause gives him an opportunity to continue. In twenty-eight terms Holmes has had abundant opportunity to say his say and to reveal himself as a jurist and a man. In fifteen terms Brandeis has had abundant occasion to display the quality of his workmanship. The two volumes reveal the minds of two distinguished jurists concerned with the significant problems of a developing industrial society.

On the current bench there are no two as like and as unlike as Holmes and Brandeis. They are alike men of culture, of broad intellectual interests, of a large-mindedness which never endows the trivial with cosmic importance, of a sense of humor which keeps even the law in its place. Holmes, the son of a poet and Harvard professor, is of New England parentage and Cambridge up-bringing. He is a kind of Erewhonian Puritan. A very cosmopolitan universe lives beneath his hat; human affairs and man's little systems are only passing incidents in the endless procession of history. Brandeis, the son of a '48-er, was Jewish born, brought up in Kentucky and educated at Dresden and Harvard. His father was one of a small band who left Vienna after the revolution and came overseas with democratic ideas and grand pianos, with practical sense in their heads and the lines of the German romantic poets on their tongues. Brandeis has spent the greater span of his life in Cambridge, has lived busily in the midst of active affairs and has kept books constantly about him. How much the kindred interests of the men have drawn the jurists together it would be hard to say.

**The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes.* Edited by Alfred Lief. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929. \$4.50.

The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis. Edited by Alfred Lief. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1930. \$4.50.

It is not easy to explain how, as jurists, they come to the same "results." In spite of mutual interests, the minds of the men work very differently; the "judicial process" of Holmes has little in common with the "legal method" of Brandeis.

Holmes is an intellectual liberal who affects to be quite unconcerned with creeds and causes. He is no crusader; reform is with him far from a dominant passion. He speaks most vigorously and with deepest feeling when the issue relates to free speech. Even here his concern seems to be rather with the right of the individual to his own, and probably useless, say than with the good of it all. His argument for the validity of the Federal child labor act was doubtless prompted by a recognition of the claims of childhood. But in general he does not argue for the approval of social legislation because he regards the measures as desirable and sound and promising. He places questions of goodness and badness to one side, insisting that as a judge he is not concerned with them. He argues that he could not pass on their merits without long and profound consideration of the need for regulation and of the adequacy of the legislative remedy. For such practical and non-legal inquiry he has neither the time nor the inclination. The world is for him too full of other interesting things for the realistic problems of the textile industry, of working women or of methods of accountancy to claim his attention. His conscience is quite clear about it, for he can discover nothing in the Constitution forbidding States to experiment with social legislation. He borrows a standard from the common law, assumes that statutes are the reasonable acts of reasonable men and does not find it his task to interfere from Washington with the handling of their own affairs by the States. They may, for any judicial difference it makes to him, fix the prices at which theatre tickets are to be resold, set up a State

office to keep down the price of gasoline or interfere with chain stores on behalf of independent merchants. Holmes is half-way up Olympus and from that vantage point the antics that we call human conduct seem of little importance; after all, it is not his funeral. He believes in the right of each individual—and each community—to choose for himself his own primrose way to the everlasting bonfire. He is, in short, "the adult jurist," much too well acquainted with the annals of mankind to be intolerant, much too sophisticated to read his own likes and dislikes into the Constitution.

Brandeis, on the other hand, is a genuine liberal. He knows his law and the decisions of his court and has a profound respect for both. But to him law is the instrument of public purpose; legal questions are subordinate to the larger issues of policy; the heart of the matter is the effect of the decision upon the affairs of the country and the lives of the people. The legal questions are mere formulas within whose broad and living terms the merits of the legislation at stake are to have the fullest and most dispassionate consideration. When a case comes along involving the liability of employers for industrial accident, the use of collective bargaining or the fairness of the rates of a public utility, he prefers inquiry to dialectics. He is rarely contented with the materials which counsel present in their briefs; he makes for himself a thorough examination of the question, giving attention to the presence of an evil, the need of mending and the promise of the remedy. His exhaustive investigations are prompted by the belief that law is meaningless apart from the thing to which it relates; that a statute is good or bad only as it works or fails to work toward a desired result. His opinions are the work of a practical, realistic person who is not in the least mistaken about the century in which he lives. Back

of the work of the jurist is the man; with him his own scheme of values counts; his dominant passion is for righteousness; to him the work of the jurist is in essence statecraft.

It follows that a Holmes and a Brandeis opinion read very differently. Holmes sets out to show that a challenged statute is not unconstitutional. His shrewd use of the double negative imposes sweat and toil upon the party who argues invalidity. It enables him to be the lawyer-jurist, to start from sound premises, to move forward a neat argument, to reach a comfortable conclusion, all with a minimum of effort and a great economy of words. His unique art lies in the distinctive way in which it is done. A careful choice of words gets his argument away to a good start; shrewd verbal strokes turn to right and to left decisions which seem to stand in the way; happy exposition brings to the judgment support from unexpected sources. Holmes has a way when speaking for the court of disposing of the case on an issue never raised by counsel. His arguments are marked by an inventive quality rare even among jurists; his opinions reveal a superb gift for phrasing, rare even among men of letters. A legal argument is no parade of insulated reasoning; the work of the court allows full scope to Holmes's creative powers. It is, all of it, very trim and neat, full of fine lines, legal filigree work of a very high order.

The Brandeis technique likewise benefits the man. It is direct, clear-cut, realistic and convincing. It blends issue of law and question of policy in an argument that marches straight to its goal. The analysis is keenly made; the issues are sharply stated; the attack is carefully marked out; precedent and fact are skillfully marshaled and the parts are contrived into a persuasive whole. He attempts to show not only the legal validity but also the social desirability of statutes which are in question. His concepts

are never empty concepts, his reasoning is never merely legalism. In his arguments facts and figures have as much of a place as citations; his opinions are filled with references not only to legal writers but to authorities on the very secular subjects to which the law relates. They abound in clear-cut and succinct essays on the need for workman's compensation, the function of collective bargaining, the division of freight charges among joint carriers, the rival methods for determining depreciation. As his judgments are decisions on public policy, his opinions are expositions in support of his conclusions. It is not the Brandeis way to claim the decision by default. He justifies legislation; he demonstrates constitutionality.

Brandeis, like Holmes, employs his own tricks of the jurist's trade. His realistic bent has led many to overlook the significant fact that he is probably the ablest technical lawyer on the bench. His attack on a case is a most varied one. He may argue that the court has "no jurisdiction" and accordingly cannot decide the issue; he may, when occasion demands, pile precedent on precedent to demonstrate the legal inevitability of his result; he may, when it has to be done, show that decisions of the court which look like barriers are really concerned with other issues; he may solidly freight his argument with considerations of public welfare. If his workmanship presents greater variety than that of any of his colleagues, it is because he is more resourceful. If he differs, it is only in a keener awareness of what he is about and a more conscious use of the devices of "legal law" in the service of statesmanship. If the layman thinks of the technique of Holmes and the art of Brandeis as employing tricks, he must remember that they are tricks of the trade. Such devices have no moral quality in themselves; their goodness or badness depends upon how they are used.

It is in dissent that Holmes and Brandeis are at their best. They speak for the court far oftener than they take a position against it; in fact, it is only in two or three cases in a hundred that either voices disapproval. The dubious honor of being "the great dissenter" belongs to a very conservative colleague. But dissent rather than official speech gives to the jurist the better opportunity. When his is "the opinion of the court" he is forced into numerous compromises. He must take such account of the views of his brethren as will hold them with him; he must explain away previous decisions that seem to be contradictory; he must so guard his language that general statements will not later prove an embarrassment. But when he dissents he is free to speak his own mind as a protestant, simply, directly, emphatically and even with the unction of righteousness. Holmes or Brandeis, delivering the opinion of the court, are speaking for others and in part voicing the reasons of others. Holmes, J., or Brandeis, J., dissenting, is Holmes or Brandeis untainted by the need for saying the acceptable thing. It is no accident that the orthodox opinions are little known, that many of the dissents have become almost classic.

The occasional practice of dissent is never mere disagreement; it fills its constructive rôle in the work of the court. The chance for dissent is insurance against a careless disposition of the case; the necessity to meet the dissent forces the spokesman to choose his words with greater care and to state his conclusions with greater precision. It makes alike for fairness to the litigants and for a better reasoned body of law. Besides, the dissent of today may become the opinion of the court tomorrow. The court once held that a State had no right to fix hours of labor for men and Holmes in one of his best opinions protested that his brethren were reading "Mr. Herbert Spencer's So-

cial Statics" into the Constitution. When the issue came along ten years later Holmes was silent, for the court had come round to his way of thinking. When the court found an organization of lumber producers to be against the law, Brandeis showed how competitive conditions made a trade association necessary. When a similar case appeared later, the majority of the court saw nothing illegal in the cooperative arrangements and Brandeis could concur in silence. In three cases the court decided against the validity of public regulation of prices and Holmes and Brandeis joined Mr. Justice Stone in a vigorous dissent. A while later a price-fixing statute was upheld, and it was left to Brandeis's technique to distinguish away decisions of which he had not approved. At the present term the court has applied, in a case involving telephone rates, an argument voiced by Brandeis in dissent many years ago. In the records the opinion and the dissent are set down side by side; the opposing arguments may be read, studied, compared and weighed. If the dissent eventually comes to prevail, it must make its way on its own merit against authoritative utterance.

In the translation of judicial utterance into polite writing in book form Holmes and Brandeis fare far better than most jurists would. The success is due in part to the unity of their opinions, in part to their refusal to allow the practice of the judicial art to escape a contact with life. On the whole, the opinions of Holmes seem a little less alien in a printed book. It is not that more is transferred than with Brandeis but rather that the loss is less apparent. The manner of Holmes is intriguing and deceptive. The reader will delight in Holmesian phrasing: "General propositions do not decide concrete cases;" "certitude is not the test of certainty"; "we must think things, not words." Regardless of how it came into existence and what it specifically meant, he

will endow it with a meaning of his own.

Nevertheless it is hazardous to lift the opinions of justices from the annals of the law. In the records they live amid all the circumstances of litigation that called them into being. As books they consist of fragments torn from controversy and judicial process and given a unity as if they were products of authorship. Casual quotation of a few paragraphs is even more dangerous, for apart from the cause and the quiet heat of juridical combat such passages lose much of their meaning and life. With this warning, a fragment is here reproduced which, in so far as any fragment can, typifies Mr. Justice Holmes's attitude in thought and manner. In a dissent from a judgment in which a New York statute fixing the resale price of theatre tickets was found invalid he wrote:

We fear to grant power and are unwilling to recognize it when it exists. * * * When Legislatures are held to be authorized to do anything considerably affecting public welfare it is covered by apologetic phrases like the police power or the statement that the business concerned has been dedicated to a public use. * * * I do not believe in such apologies. I think the proper course is to recognize that a State Legislature can do whatever it sees fit to do unless it is restrained by some express prohibition in the Constitution of the United States or of the State, and that courts should be careful not to extend such prohibitions beyond their obvious meaning. * * * Lotteries were thought useful adjuncts of the State a century or so ago; now they are believed to be immoral and they have been stopped. Wine has been thought good for man from the time of the Apostles until recent years. But when public opinion changed it did not need the Eighteenth Amendment, notwithstanding the Fourteenth, to enable a State to say that the business should end. * * * What has happened to lotteries and wine might happen to theatres in some moral storm of the future, not because theatres were devoted to a public use but because people had come to think that way. But if we are to yield to fashionable conventions, it

seems to me that theatres are as much devoted to public use as anything well can be. We have not that respect for art that is one of the glories of France. But to many people the superfluous is the necessary, and it seems to me that government does not go beyond its sphere in attempting to make life livable for them. I am far from saying that I think this particular law a wise and rational provision. That is not my affair. If the people of the State of New York * * * say that they want it, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent their having their will.

It is likewise foolhardy to attempt to reproduce in a short quotation the method of Brandeis, who invariably fortifies his case by authority and buttresses it by footnotes. The omission of citations and notes robs his expositions of their very foundations. Their lack will necessarily detract from the following paragraphs, taken from a dissenting opinion concerned with the activities of trade unions:

Because I have come to the conclusion that both the common law of a State and a statute of the United States declare the right of industrial combatants to push their struggle to the limits of the justification of self-interest, I do not wish to be understood as attaching any constitutional or moral sanction to that right. All rights are derived from the purposes of the society in which they exist; above all rights rises duty to the community. The conditions developed in industry may be such that those engaged in it cannot continue their struggle without danger to the community. But it is not for judges to determine whether such conditions exist, nor is it their function to set the limits of permissible contest and to declare the duties which the new situation demands. This is the function of the Legislature which, while limiting individual and group rights of aggression and defense, may substitute processes of justice for the more primitive method of trial by combat.

In like manner he defends the activities of trade associations:

The cooperation which is incident to this plan does not suppress competition. On the contrary, it tends to promote all in competition which is

desirable. By substituting knowledge for ignorance, rumor, guess and suspicion, it tends also to substitute research and reasoning for gambling and piracy without closing the door to adventure or lessening the value of prophetic wisdom. In making such knowledge available to the smallest concern it creates among producers equality of opportunity. In making it available also to purchasers and the general public it does all that can actually be done to protect the community from extortion. If, as is alleged, the plan tends to substitute stability in prices for violent fluctuations, its influence in this respect is not against the public interest. The evidence in this case, far from establishing an illegal restraint of trade, presents, in my opinion, an instance of commendable effort by concerns engaged in a chaotic industry to make possible its intelligent conduct under competitive conditions.

The use of the same argument in a qualified support of the cooperative activities alike of laborers and of business men indicates no service to a particular cause but a desire to see a larger measure of control over a rather unruly industrial system.

The two volumes of Holmes and Brandeis opinions are history in the making—free speech, free press, free assembly; trust-busting, holding companies, railway mergers; the regulation of hours, of wages, of valuations; the ever-old clash under ever-new conditions between liberty and control; a

hundred questions concerned with subduing a turbulent industrial system, the product of unintended events, to order. The story of the adaptation of "a fundamental instrument of government," a Constitution drawn up by eighteenth-century gentlemen, to the needs of a twentieth-century society is here in epitome. The books are documents from the front where the Supreme Court, which is our most American institution, strives to square current necessity with the law of the land.

So it is that Holmes and Brandeis differ; yet "concur" in much the same "result." Holmes is moved by tolerance, Brandeis by social justice; Holmes is Olympian, Brandeis human; Holmes, a superb artist, Brandeis, a superb craftsman; Holmes, a master of dialectics, Brandeis, a master of inquiry—yet in general they stand together. The key to their affinity is not far to seek. They agree that law is an instrument to be used by man for his good, not a contrivance to enslave him to words whose meaning has departed. It is this freedom which makes of the court which they represent an institution of social control. A line scribbled by Mr. Justice Holmes will describe the work of both, "When I think of the law, I think of a loom."

American Foreign Trade, 1830-1930

By HENRY CHALMERS

Chief, Division of Foreign Tariffs, United States Department of Commerce

EARLY in 1930 President Hoover called upon the nation to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the departure of the first wagon-train from St. Louis toward the Oregon country. He urged the American people to observe the period from April 10 to Dec. 29, 1930, as the "Covered Wagon Centennial," and in so doing to "recall the national significance of this centenary of the great westward tide which established American civilization across a continent." This focusing of national attention upon the unparalleled internal expansion and development of the United States during the one hundred years just closed, suggests an examination of the almost equally meteoric rise of the United States during the past century to first place in world economic affairs.

When the first wagon-train left St. Louis for the Oregon country in the Spring of 1830, the population of the United States was less than 13,000,000, still concentrated, with the exception of thin settlements beyond the Alleghanies, mainly in the original thirteen States along the Atlantic seaboard. Agriculture was distinctly the predominant occupation of the population, almost exclusively so in the South and the West. In the Middle Atlantic States, lumbering, fur-trading, flour-milling and simple manufactures from local materials pro-

vided some variations, while, in New England, agriculture was supplemented by fishing, shipbuilding and a fair range of manufacturing. The manufactures that existed had been started largely during the cutting off of European supplies by the Napoleonic Wars and had been further fostered by the tariff acts after 1816.

Foreign markets still took most of the surplus products of the various sections. The lack of cheap and adequate transportation facilities between the interior areas and the older seaboard settlements prevented any large domestic exchange of staple products. Although the building of turnpikes was actively in progress, the difficulties and expense of wagon transportation of bulky commodities severely limited the volume of internal overland trade.

The steam locomotive, which probably more than any other invention has served to open up the great resources of the American Continent to the world, and has been so vital a factor in the rapid social, as well as economic, advance of the nation, was still in its experimental stage a century ago. The total railway mileage in the United States in 1830 was 23 miles.

The interior of the country, better supplied with navigable streams, which were being rapidly connected with canals, afforded much better fa-

cilities for traffic north and south than were available between the interior and the seaboard. The opening up of the Erie Canal in 1825 afforded water communication between the Central West and New York City. This was the first important channel for moving large quantities of Western products eastward. The revolution in ocean-borne commerce by the use of steam power was not to come until several decades later.

Foreign trade in 1830 saw the end of a period of recession and stagnation which had followed the panic of 1818-19. This had come largely as the reaction from the abnormal expansion of American commerce and carrying trade that had been stimulated, first by the needs of the European nations involved in the Napoleonic Wars, and later by the temporary inflation of business after the period of depression that accompanied our own war with Great Britain. With the return of peace, not only did the United States lose her privileged position in the carrying trade, but after a short post-war boom—resembling the similar inflation of a century later—our domestic exports of breadstuffs, provisions and in fact of almost all commodities, slumped sharply as the European countries were again able to supply their own needs. The depression was all the more severe because of the extent to which the young nation had hitherto been dependent upon foreign trade for its prosperity. During part of the earlier period, in fact, the value of the re-exports of foreign goods from the United States in the handling of which we were simply the intermediaries and carriers, exceeded the value of the domestic exports. American products and ships, moreover, were again meeting difficulties abroad. They had to contend not only with the high tariffs of European countries but with restrictive navigation laws which were enforced during the period.

But the attention and energies of the nation were directed toward internal expansion. This was the period of our great and rapid westward migration into the territory recently acquired through the Louisiana Purchase. While a slowing-up of activities in foreign trade resulted, the foundations were laid for a greater contribution to the world's markets. The extensive and fertile western areas which the generations after 1830 were to bring under cultivation were to produce the huge quantities of grains and foodstuffs which later were to burst upon the world's markets. This, however, had to await railroad building and the improvement of other means of communication which could bring these products to the seaboard without difficulty and high cost.

Agriculture, as would be expected, contributed over three-quarters of the domestic exports from the United States during 1830—\$47,000,000 out of a total export trade of \$59,000,000. The position of industry was reflected in the relatively small contribution of "manufactures"—less than \$6,000,000, or one-tenth of the total. To follow the simple but vivid division of our national economy used by the statisticians of that day, "the forest" contributed \$4,000,000 (6 per cent) to our exports and "the sea" contributed \$1,750,000 (less than 3 per cent).

Among the various agricultural products, tobacco still continued important, with \$5,600,000, but was by no means the outstanding export that it had been during Colonial days. Rice had fallen considerably and indigo to an insignificant amount. By 1830 these early leaders in our agricultural exports had been displaced by the output of the rapidly extending cotton fields.

Cotton was becoming "king"; it dominated the export trade for the first half of the nineteenth century until the rapidly swelling output of cereals and meat products became close rivals to cotton in the world's markets. In 1830 cotton production

already amounted to over 1,000,000 bales, and the three-quarters of this which was exported made up fully one-half of the total value of the exports during that year. Cotton a century later was still the leading export, although in relation to the total American trade it made up but one-seventh of the value of exports.

Wheat and especially flour were poor seconds among the agricultural exports of 1830 (\$6,100,000); animal products ranked third (\$2,400,000); Indian corn and meal were exported in fair amounts, but no other farm product made up as much as 1 per cent of the total. With the exception of wheat, corn and animal products, the agricultural exports of 1830 were distinctly the contributions of the South.

The products of "the forest" were contributed principally by the North and Middle States. Wood, in the form of staves, shingles, boards and hewn timber, made up the principal class, \$1,500,000; this did not include the separately listed item of "masts." Potash, then described as "pot and pearl ashes," ranked second, \$1,100,000; while naval stores, which had figured among the leading exports from the South in the early days, held a minor place in 1830. Skins and furs, which made up the only other appreciable contribution of "the forest" to the foreign trade (\$600,000), reflected the still important occupation of trapping in the undeveloped areas of the country.

The products of "the sea," consisting mainly of fish, fish oil, whalebone and spermaceti candles, were already playing a less prominent part in the exports of the country. This doubtless was a reflection of the increasing attention that was being given to various lines of manufacture in New England and the Northern States.

The factories which had sprung up during the preceding decades had already come to supply a surplus beyond the local requirements. Among the manufactured goods included in

the total of such exports were cotton piece goods, soap and tallow candles, and leather manufactures, followed by iron manufactures, hats and wearing apparel, snuff and other tobacco manufactures, and smaller quantities of a variety of wares which did not represent a very high stage of industrial development.

A century ago American exports were distributed in a limited range of markets. Even under strange groupings of areas in those days, it is striking that Europe was the market for two-thirds of American exports. England was naturally the largest single market for American goods, taking an aggregate for 1830 valued at \$26,000,000, or over one-half of the exports from the United States. France was the second European market, taking nearly \$11,000,000, while the Hanse towns, corresponding to what we would now term the German ports, took \$2,300,000.

The second important group of markets was the Caribbean. Mexico, Cuba and the other islands of the West Indies together took 20 per cent of our exports. Canada, which today rivals Great Britain as the prime export market of the United States, in 1830 took less than \$4,000,000. The republics of South America, which had been independent barely a decade, accounted for \$4,500,000; Brazil and Chile were the principal markets.

The only other market of any consequence was that of China, a trade which formed an interesting and often adventurous chapter for the merchant princes and captains of the day. The heyday of the clipper ships, with which our trade with China is usually associated in American history and romance, was not to come until a decade or more after 1830.

The imports of the United States a century ago were mainly of two classes of commodities—finished manufactures and tropical or sub-tropical foodstuffs of the type often referred to as "colonial goods." Considering the relatively undeveloped

state of manufacturing in the new country, it was natural that the older countries of Europe would be the source of supply for clothing materials, household wares, hardware and metal goods. The imports of manufactured wares made over half the total that the United States bought abroad. Textiles of various sorts—cotton, wool, silk, flax, hemp and lace—predominated. Iron manufactures of various sorts were the only other large item of manufactured imports, although the rather considerable quantities of earthenware, china and glass reflected the extent to which the more prosperous American homes were equipped with the same things that were being used in England.

The imports of foodstuffs, which were one-quarter of the total in 1830, consisted of sugar and molasses, coffee, tea, salt, spices and a considerable quantity of foreign wines and spirits. The foods imported were relatively small in bulk in relation to value, adapted to the limitations of ocean shipping. Moreover, these goods were exotic, the luxuries of life rather than its necessities.

Raw materials or semi-manufactured goods amounted in the aggregate to but 15 per cent of the total imports. Hides and skins were the largest single item; but copper, brass, tin plate and steel, as well as some coal, showed the needs of the domestic factories for materials which were as yet not suitably or adequately supplied by domestic production. Indigo, a prominent export of Colonial days, now figured among the imports, together with other dye materials.

As might be expected, Europe was the principal source of imports, furnishing two-thirds of the value of the total foreign purchases. The Caribbean countries, particularly the West Indies, furnished the second important source of supply, consisting in large part of sugar, molasses, coffee

and rum. Asia, which meant China, supplied tea, silks and luxuries. Japan, still a hermit nation behind its feudal walls, was not on the commercial map.

A comparison of the simple and limited foreign trade of the United States in 1830 with the huge and complex exchanges that formed American commerce during 1929 is like comparing the sailing ship of a few hundred tons with the Leviathan. The bare statement that the value of the American import trade during 1929 was 70 times as great as that during 1830, or that the aggregate of American products exported during 1929 was valued at nearly 87 times as much, is stupendous in itself. It carries little indication, however, of the significance of the changes in character and direction of American foreign trade during the century.

An examination of the commodities which make up our current export and import trade, demonstrates the great development of the country during that period, and the transition from an agricultural to an industrial nation. The World War with its abnormal influence upon trade is far enough away for the permanent currents marking our foreign commerce to have reasserted themselves. The present recession in foreign as well as domestic trade is obviously temporary, and is not likely to affect appreciably the long-time trends.

The most significant feature of our export trade has been the shift from raw materials and foodstuffs to manufactured goods as our principal contribution to world markets. Whereas in 1830 raw materials were the largest part of our exports, 63 per cent, similar materials—while now very much larger in amount than then—make up less than one-quarter [22 per cent in 1929] of our present export trade. Where in 1830 finished manufactures constituted but 10 per cent of the small total exports of

those days, practically half our total exports during 1929 were made up of such finished manufactures. If semi-manufactures are added to this class, manufacturing in 1929 contributed two-thirds of the total export trade of the country.

Foodstuffs have been a fluctuating element in our exports. During the decades following the Civil War, the ready outlets to markets created by the expanding network of railways, joined with the cheapening of ocean transportation, stimulated the rapid taking up of the fertile farm lands of the Mississippi Valley for the growing of grain and the raising of livestock. For a short time, the combined exports of breadstuffs and provisions overtopped even cotton in value. In the last two decades, however—the World War period excepted—they have been declining in importance.

The position of the United States as primarily a purveyor of raw materials and foodstuffs to the foreign countries has been undergoing an important change over a period of several decades. The absolute quantities of cotton or grain or tobacco exported from the United States may not have declined in amount, but the United States has found its comparative advantage in the more advanced economic activities. New efforts are being increasingly devoted to enlarging our manufacturing operations. At the present moment one can see the shift from natural products to manufactures as the class of goods that is to dominate our export trade.

With a growing population and expanding industries, a larger proportion of our domestic foodstuffs is needed for consumption at home and a larger proportion of raw materials is being absorbed by our domestic industries. The competition of foodstuffs from the newer and cheaper lands of Canada, Argentina, and Australia, has doubtless been a factor in making it less attractive for the

American farmer under normal conditions to expand his production of grains or meat products for foreign markets. However, Americans have been able to increase their efficiency in manufacturing by utilizing additional machinery and electric power, while the possibilities for the utilization of such aids in agriculture are more limited. Undoubtedly this situation has played its part in casting the United States in the rôle of a manufacturing rather than an agricultural country.

The trends of our import and export trade supplement each other as reflections of the transition in the economic life of the country. During the past century there has been an almost consistent decline decade after decade in the relative place of manufactured goods in import trade. From a situation at the beginning of the century when finished wares made up the predominant part of our imports, the proportion shrank to about 30 per cent by 1880, and less than 23 per cent by 1929. The unparalleled expansion and diversification of manufacturing, particularly accelerated during the last generation, has far outrun the needs of our growing population even with its rising standards. We ourselves have come not only to make most of the manufactured articles for which we were formerly dependent upon foreign countries, but in many lines we have had increasing surpluses which we could supply to the world's markets.

As a result of this change there has been a marked increase in the proportion of imports which have been made up of raw materials for manufacturing and of semi-manufactured commodities for the needs of our industries. A century ago raw materials made up less than 8 per cent of our imports, but by 1929, they constituted 36 per cent of the much enlarged total. Expressed concretely, the leading places in our import trade

are now held by raw materials from abroad: raw silk, crude rubber, hides and skins, crude petroleum, leaf tobacco, wool, long-staple cotton and other textile fibers, followed by producers' materials imported in semi-manufactured form, such as wood pulp, copper, burlap, fertilizers and chemicals.

The current situation represents the attainment of the second stage of industrial maturity. We have long since passed the point where we simply turned into finished wares for our people's consumption an increasing part of the raw materials with which our country is generously supplied. We are now reaching out increasingly to all parts of the world for supplies of foreign raw materials which can be converted into finished goods, not alone to supply the manifold requirements and rising standards of our own population, but to return these materials in manufactured form to the world's markets.

Foodstuffs, raw and manufactured, which made up a substantial part of our imports a century ago, still hold a fairly important part. They continue to be predominantly of very much the same type of tropical or subtropical products—chiefly coffee, sugar, cocoa, tea, fruits and nuts.

Mainly because of an increasing capacity for self-supply, although undoubtedly influenced in part by the character of our past tariff legislation, our importations of manufactured goods have shown a relative decline. American purchases of this class of products from abroad are largely confined today either to those products of which we have not an ample supply ourselves, notably newsprint paper, or to a great variety of finished wares of a type or grade which the various foreign peoples excel in producing, and which we import mainly to supplement our own present output.

Europe, the market for two-thirds of our exports a century ago, and the immediate source then of almost as

large a share of our imports, no longer dominates our trade to such an extent. As our requirements from abroad have turned increasingly to raw materials, it is natural to find our markets broadening out in countries of less advanced industrial development. South America and Asia, which a century ago were the markets for but one-eleventh part of our surplus production, today come nearer to taking one-quarter of our much larger exports. Perhaps even more striking has been the rise in importance of Canada, from an almost negligible place among our outlets a century ago, when it was still largely unsettled wilderness, to a place today rivaling Great Britain as the leading customer of the United States.

However, it would be a mistake to conclude that our manufactures find markets only in the less-developed countries. A considerable part of the goods which the United States produces are industrial specialties, which constitute one of our unique contributions to world commerce. These products, which frequently offer a new facility or convenience, rather than displacing directly the products of other countries, often find their readiest market in the European countries, with their populations of relatively high income and advanced standards of living and industrial methods. A moment's thought as to who would be the most likely foreign users of automobiles, radios, office appliances, agricultural machinery, machine tools and advanced mechanical apparatus of all sorts, is sufficient to show the breadth of the appeal of the distinctive American manufactured wares to older countries as well as those less advanced industrially.

Thus, the United States has risen in the period of a century from being a small, undeveloped group of colonies on the eastern edge of a continent, to the position of a highly developed and matured industrial country, whose foreign trade now gives her the first place in the markets of the world.

Vienna's Experience as a Socialist City

By MORROW MAYO

Former Staff Editor of The Associated Press

VIENNA, with a population of 1,860,000, is the largest city in the world that is under Socialist rule. The capital of Austria occupies a unique position in the post-war republic, for it is at once a municipality, a province and a federal political district. Under the national Constitution the city enjoys a comprehensive freedom in the conduct of its affairs, both administrative and fiscal. Its government is administered by one group of locally elected officials, who function in three capacities. Vienna's peculiarly independent position has enabled its elected Socialist administrators during the past eleven years to carry out extensive experiments in the socialization of a compact territory embracing a large urban population.

The Social Democrats, or Austro-Marxists, gained control of Vienna's government at the first municipal elections held after the World War, in May, 1919. They have been in power ever since, and they have gradually strengthened their position. At the first municipal elections they won 100 out of 165 seats on the Municipal Council, polling 368,228 (or 54.17 per cent) of a total of 679,728 votes cast. At the last municipal elections, held in April, 1927, when 92 per cent of the electors voted and 1,152,155 votes were cast, the Social Democrats polled 694,457 votes (60.27 per cent), with 457,698 votes (39.73 per cent) divided among the opposing parties,

chief of whom are the Christian Socialists, or Clerical party, which is the mainstay of the anti-Socialist forces in Vienna. The Social Democrats now hold 78 of the 120 seats on the Municipal Council, or approximately a two-thirds majority, besides being the largest party in the National Parliament.

The Municipal Council is the backbone and controlling arm of Vienna's governmental structure. It operates both as a City Council and as a provincial Diet. Its members are elected for a period of five years directly by the people of Vienna on a basis of proportional representation. The Municipal Council then elects an administrative executive and twelve assistants, eight of whom serve in administrative capacities. The administrative executive thus elected automatically becomes Mayor of the city, Governor of the province and head of the federal district; the twelve assistants automatically become the city Aldermen, the provincial Ministers and the district federal officers. All thirteen are elected by the Municipal Council on a basis of proportional representation. But only a member of the majority party is elected administrative executive, and only members of the majority party are elected administrative assistants, heading the eight departments; the remaining four have only a consultative voice.

Vienna is sometimes called "little

sister" of Moscow. Its Socialist administration takes vigorous exception to the characterization, and often expresses public disapproval of the "excesses" and "extravagances" of the Bolsheviks. Still, it may be noted that the city of Vienna guarantees to Vienna manufacturers payment of 70 per cent of the amount of all contracts up to \$15,000,000 concluded with the Soviet Union. The present writer hesitates about assigning Vienna's particular brand of socialism to a definite position among the various merging forms of European socialism. What is in effect in Vienna is usually described as "ideal, traditional" socialism, as distinguished from Russian bolshevism on the extreme Left and British social-laborism on the extreme Right.

The socialization program of the Austro-Marxists embraces municipal ownership and management of public utilities, municipal housing, competition with and penetration into private business, penalization of private property, graduated taxation resting heavily on the rich (and with increasing severity upon ascending standards of living) and municipal acquisition of the land. It strives to prevent the making of great individual profits and to reduce personal wealth already accumulated. It aims to provide cheap gas, cheap electricity, cheap transportation, good housing and adequate bathing facilities for the poor. (There are twenty municipal bath establishments in Vienna.) Socialist legislation undertakes to watch over the citizen from the cradle to the grave, starting five months before he is born in a municipal hospital (with accompanying maternity payments to his mother) until he is cremated in the municipal crematory or buried in the soil by the municipal funeral service. It regulates wages, protects the workman against arbitrary dismissal or lay-off and collects from employers funds with which to provide insurance for employes against incapacity, old age and sickness. The "avowed purpose" of the

Socialist government, as one observer correctly says, "is to take from luxury and distribute to those in need of assistance." (*Vienna of Yesterday and Today*, by J. Alexander Mahan, published by the Vienna Times Company, 1928.)

Inasmuch as the Socialist Government assumed control of an almost bankrupt city, it is interesting to note the manner in which it has found the money for its works. It has financed them and continues to finance them largely by a form of taxation which not only illustrates the Socialist economic philosophy but also demonstrates how Socialist theories and ideals are put into actual practice to accomplish concrete results. A few of these imposts are the taxes on horses, beer, concessions, hotels, posters, advertisements and auctions, as well as the fire brigade tax, water-power tax and house tax. The motor-car tax is calculated on a basis of horsepower; the tax on a Ford car, for example, is \$200 a year.

The servant tax is enlightening. One servant is exempt from taxation. Where two are employed, \$7.50 a year must be paid for the second, and for every additional servant the tax is \$37.50 a year plus the amount paid for the immediately preceding one. The tax for the third servant is therefore \$45, for the fourth \$82.50, and so on. For four servants together \$135 must be paid; for five \$254.50. This rate applies only to female servants. In the case of male servants it is doubled. The servant tax is also paid by clubs which minister to the social needs of their members. About 7,500 private households are liable. The government announced that the citizen most severely affected by this tax (Rothschild) paid \$46,550 for thirty-eight domestics in 1927, while another banker (Castiglioni) paid about \$5,000. The entertainment tax yields about \$2,500,000 annually. Operatic performances are taxed 5 per cent, horse racing, boxing and wrestling 32½ per cent, dances and circuses 23 per cent,

motion pictures and ballets 28½ per cent. The restaurant tax, paid by the luxury restaurants (about one-third of all the restaurants in Vienna) is graded according to the degree of luxury offered, measured by any one or all of three criteria—the class of customers, the appointments or the degree of comfort. Night clubs pay the highest tax, at least 15 per cent of the bill.

The welfare tax is the backbone of the municipal budget. It is so called because it was introduced at a time of great distress to enable the municipality to carry out its welfare activities. In 1919 mortality in Vienna had increased by 60 per cent over the pre-war rate, and child mortality by no less than 100 per cent. The welfare tax is imposed upon all employers. It amounts to 4 per cent (in the case of banks 8½ per cent) of the total sum paid for wages and salaries. It is payable monthly, and it may not be passed on to the employees. Every employer is liable, whether his undertaking is paying a profit or not. This tax yields about \$10,145,000 annually.

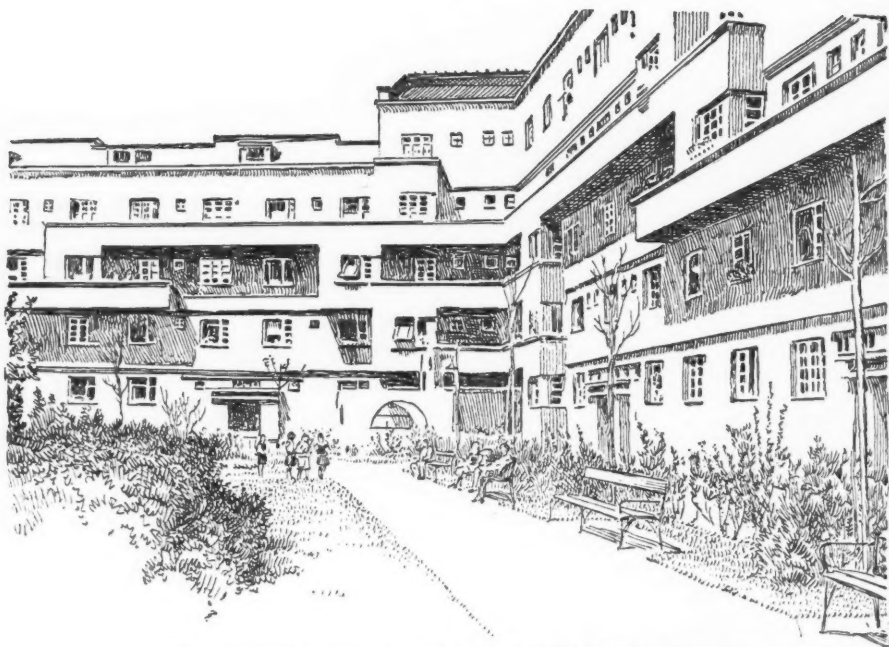
Defaulters of taxes pay fifteen times the sum in question; in some instances they are subject to a fine of fifty times the amount of the taxation

and imprisonment. The taxpayer who fails to pay all his taxes within five days of the specified time must pay a supplementary tax amounting to 25 per cent of the arrears. In 1928, after ten years of socialism, the revenue of Vienna amounted to \$65,000,000. Of this sum \$25,000,000 came from taxes imposed by the municipality and \$16,000,000 from Vienna's share of the Federal taxes (stamps, postals, &c.) collected within its territory—a total of \$41,000,000. The sum amounts to a head tax of \$23.33. In 1913 the tax was equivalent to \$21.25 per head of population. The Socialists present these figures to deny that per capita taxes have increased enormously since the war, adding, however, that the burden has been shifted to rest lightly on the poor and heavily on the rich.

Passage of three pieces of interlocking legislation has enabled the Socialist administration to carry out its gigantic housing program, generally considered the outstanding achievement of Socialist policy. When the Socialists took over the government housing conditions in Vienna were among the worst in the world. Of every 1,000 flats built in the city before the war 953 had no water supply and 958 had no water closets



Façade of the municipal dwelling "Fuchsenfeldhof," Vienna



Garden in the municipal dwelling "Bebelhof," Vienna

on the premises. In 1917, out of 554,000 families in Vienna, 406,025 (73.29 per cent) lived in single rooms or at best in one large and one small room. The normal rent which a worker had to pay for accommodations was one-fifth of his income. As a result portions of inadequate tenement rooms already occupied were sublet by the tenants. At the same time, under the existing system of municipal taxation, from one-half to two-thirds of the city's tax income came from the tax on houses. On this housing situation—which can only be described as a municipal tumor—the Socialists went to work vigorously, dramatically and perhaps in characteristic fashion.

First, they passed a rent restriction act, which lowered rents, held up private commercial building and reduced ground values. Then they introduced the increment value tax. It is a tax on the conveyance of land, payable by the vendor or, in default by him, by the purchaser. The tax is calculated on the amount of the difference be-

tween the original price paid for the land (or its estimated value as of Jan. 1, 1903, if it was owned by the vendor before that time) and the price it is sold for. The tax ranges from 6 to 25 per cent, according to when the land is bought and sold. These two measures were followed by the introduction of the dwelling house tax. This is paid by everybody who uses a room in a dwelling or in business premises. It brings in about \$5,000,000 annually. It is calculated on the pre-war rent of the houses and is scaled to fall most heavily on luxurious dwellings. About 3,500 houses and business premises, 5 per cent of the total number, pay 45 per cent of the total yield of this tax, while 520,000 rooms and houses occupied by the poorer classes, 82 per cent of the total number of occupied premises, pay 22 per cent of the total yield.

These three measures combined to bring funds into the municipal treasury without delay, while at the same time rendering unremunerative much private property, including whole blocks of building land. The city then

started to buy this land, and has continued to buy it, at prices representing only a fraction of its former value. More than 4,250,000 acres have become municipal property in this manner since 1919. The city now owns 30 per cent of the total area of Vienna, and 40 per cent if the streets and water-works are included.

Having thus acquired land and assured itself of funds, the city started to build flats. Between 1919-23 the municipality constructed 7,259 dwellings. In 1923 it announced its first building program, the construction of 25,000 dwellings within the next five years. It not only completed that program but also built 5,000 additional dwellings inside the time limit—a total of 30,000. In 1927 the city of Vienna borrowed \$30,000,000 at 6 per cent interest through the National City Company and the National City Bank of New York. Then it started on its second five-year building program. That called for the construction of 30,000 new dwellings before 1932. The program is virtually completed a year ahead of time. To date the city of Vienna has built 64,000 apartment house dwellings since 1919. No less than 200,000 persons reside in them.

These municipal apartment houses are good looking. At least 50 per cent of the sites are left unbuilt upon. They have gardens, libraries, playgrounds and swimming pools. The structures are softened with trees and flowers and are built to give a maximum of fresh air and natural light. They are decorated with murals and the grounds are sprinkled with engaging statuary. Rent is based not upon the cost of construction but only upon the cost of maintenance. The city collects no interest on its building capital. The individual rent, in most cases, amounts to about one-fifth of the pre-war rent for similar but inferior dwellings.

The city of Vienna is likewise in many forms of active business. The municipal funeral service is a case in point. It is operated without profit

and in 1929 conducted more than 85 per cent of all Vienna funerals. The municipal advertising agency is another example. Founded in 1921, it started in business by selling space in the street cars and buses of the municipal railway system, one of the three Socialist monopoly enterprises. Later it utilized all available space over which the city exercised control. In 1923, together with the private advertising firms, the city formed a company, Wipag, which today controls 90 per cent of all the advertising space in Vienna. The net profits (\$15,000 in 1929) are handed over to the city. The municipal brewery, with an annual capacity of 10,000,000 gallons, is the second largest brewery in Vienna. It sells three-fourths of its output in Vienna and accounts for 18 per cent of all the beer sold in the city.

The municipality frequently buys into new businesses, and also into old ones when there is a new stock issue. Socialization legislation permits the municipality to subscribe for one-half of the capital of any companies formed under the most favorable terms that are offered. At the present time the city is interested in sixty-six enterprises, chiefly of the engineering and building type but not entirely. It owns 90 per cent of the huge Agricultural and Afforestation Company (which also administers the former Habsburg properties), the largest agricultural enterprise in Austria. It owns two-thirds of the large Vienna Wood and Coal Buying Company. It holds half the shares of the Vienna Public Kitchens Company, which controls twenty-six kitchens and a number of bakeries, beer gardens and laundries. By virtue of its various holdings in private companies the city appoints numerous city officials to their directorates.

The three so-called monopoly undertakings are transportation, gas and electricity. The official statistics made public by the Socialist Government are remarkable, to say the least. It is announced that the cost of gas

in Vienna today is about 3 cents per cubic meter (22 per cent cheaper than before the war), while the number of consumers increased from 239,085 in 1919 to 486,510 in 1930. The gas works has been transformed into a chemical plant, which has its own benzol factory, sells coke and does a good export business. The statistics on municipal transportation show 325,000,000 passengers carried in 1913 at an average fare of 4 cents and 600,000,000 carried in 1929 at an average fare of 3 cents. The Socialists have reorganized the transportation system, added fifty miles of new track, electrified the municipal rail-

way and instituted a service of motor buses. Official figures give the price of electric lighting in Vienna in 1919 as 1 cent per hectowatt and power current $\frac{1}{2}$ cent, with 158,878 consumers. In 1930 the price of electric lighting was $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per hectowatt and power current $\frac{1}{4}$ cent, with 562,375 consumers. The Socialists have put a native coal mine, formerly considered of little value, on a productive basis, decreased the importation of coal by 400,000 tons a year and utilized water power for electrical purposes. In scrutinizing these statistics it is to be noted that Vienna has lost 240,000 inhabitants since 1913.

Church and State in Mexico

By ABBE ALPHONSE LUGAN*

ON June 23, 1929, the preliminary agreement between the Mexican Government and the Mexican clergy, as approved by the Vatican, was announced. The main terms of the agreement were that Bishops might invest priests with their offices, but that the priests must also register with the government; that religious teaching was forbidden in either public or private schools, but freely allowed in the churches, and that the Mexican clergy might, through constitutional means, demand the annulment of any laws unfavorable to the Church.

The agreement pleased the extrem-

ists of neither party. The following comment appeared in an anonymous book, attributed to a Jesuit, *El Conflicto Religioso de 1926* (1929): "Several of the Governors have not obeyed the orders of the Federal Government. Even today in some States religious worship has not been resumed; in others obstacles have been raised to prevent putting an end to the persecutions. These acts cannot, with fairness, be blamed on the Federal Government; they are due to lack of co-operation and to the reactionary tendencies of certain political personages in the States. The best known of these, former Minister of the Interior Tejeda, has angered even enemies of the Church. He sent an urgent telegram to the President expressing the hope that the latter would recognize the new attacks of the opposition. He promised his support in such terms that many thought his message a

*Abbe Lugan is a distinguished member of the French clergy and a well-known author who is believed to stand close to the Vatican and whose writings are taken as reflecting the viewpoint of the conservative elements of the Church in Rome. He was the first member of the French clergy to take issue with *L'Action Française*, which opposes the French Republic and the existing status of the Church in France. Abbe Lugan's view of the Mexican settlement may be regarded as in accord with that of the Vatican, although he disavows any official relationship.

veiled threat against the President if a solution of the religious problem should be reached. Tejeda later enlarged on his first telegram in another sent to Senator Manlio Fabio Altamirano on June 21. He explained his attitude, claiming that the clergy would always be the enemy of national institutions and well-being in Mexico."

On the other side, the extremists were equally dissatisfied. A revolt under General Gorostieta flared up in 1926, in which Catholics, called *cristeros*, took up arms against the Calles Government. It was hoped after General Escobar's uprising in 1928 to overthrow the government and obtain religious and economic reforms. The military chiefs, laymen and Catholic, who had heard of negotiations already started in 1928 to put an end to the political-religious conflict, sent a message to Rome. This has come to my hands from a reliable source. Although it has neither date nor signature, its authenticity is unquestionable. I give it here because it explains better than I possibly can the psychology of the opposition and certain events that followed the accord:

It is known that the opposition is circulating a rumor that everything has been arranged with certain prelates, with the promise that little by little the sectarian law shall be repealed and public worship restored. We state emphatically that the Catholic people would be ashamed of an agreement on any such terms. We are unanimously of opinion that our persecutors wish to play upon the good-will of certain of the clergy and, under the pretext of national unrest, to enslave the Mexican Church. These people are seriously disturbing the nation; it is impossible to deal with men who have no honor. We are sure that Catholics of all classes, including the military, would prefer the present unfortunate conditions with all their consequences. They are convinced that with perseverance they will at least teach the government a lesson and will gain from other countries respect for our national conscience. We enclose a memorandum, and with greatest respect implore your Holiness to take this evidence into account.

The agreement which was finally reached between the government and the clergy was a bitter blow to those who had approved sending the foregoing dispatch. It is claimed that one Archbishop and two or three other Bishops approved armed resistance. But it is only just to state that Mgr. Orozco, Archbishop of Guadalajara, condemned it from the beginning. The government, however, depending entirely on rumors in the press, accused him of being its originator; he sought refuge in the mountains of Central Mexico and escaped arrest.

At the end of February, 1929, Mgr. Ruiz y Flores, Apostolic Delegate in Mexico, angrily protested in a public letter against the pamphlets and speeches of Catholics, including "a Mexican Bishop, which criticize in unpardonable language the arrangements for the resumption of religious worship in the churches." After answering these critics, Mgr. Ruiz y Flores wrote:

In any such situation as this it is most unwise for either party to the agreement to boast of victory; the arrangement attempts to conciliate both parties, the only possible way of forming a truly national government. Not only is it essential to avoid aggressive statements, it is also important to cooperate in all the government's activities as far as one's conscience as a Catholic permits. The Church does not want a change of government or any part in the government; she is trying by purely legal means so to change the laws that they will guarantee Catholics in Mexico the same liberties which they enjoy in other countries.

The opponents to the agreement conducted rather a crude campaign in Europe against the so-called "persecution" and had little difficulty in bringing Catholics of several countries to their way of thinking.

In December, 1929, the *Vingtième Siècle* of Brussels, a Fascist paper and strongly Catholic, sent a correspondent to Mexico to investigate the situation. He was a young man of some literary ability, but completely ignorant of the language and of Mexican history. He was called Degrelle, but no

one in Mexico knew him by his real name. His visit coincided with a violent campaign against the accord and against those who had signed it. The Apostolic Delegate had had to bring this opposition to order in the letter quoted above. Degrelle came into contact with only the views of the discontented Catholics. Anglo-Saxon journalists are in many ways inferior to the Latin newspaper writers, but they are invariably their superiors in "fair play" and objectivity. They have, of course, their personal opinions, but when they are investigating a disputed point they hear both sides of the case, as is only just. The Belgian reporter saw only one side of the case. He sent to his paper some twenty articles, all deeply colored by the attitude of the Catholic opposition. Many contained direct attacks on the Archbishop of Mexico, Mgr. Diaz. No one knows why he did not attack the Apostolic Delegate, who had assumed all responsibility for the pact. His language was extremely bitter and uncompromising. He asserted, as late as April, 1930, that the protesting Catholics were boycotted and that lawyers and doctors who opposed the settlement lost their clients and patients. His personal attacks on Mgr. Diaz were especially violent. This is illustrative of the campaign waged by the opposition to arouse European and American Catholics to reprisals.

The Archbishop of Mexico himself, in a reply to the priest Naranjo, who had attacked the accord, pointed out the advantages which the Church gained from it:

1. The existence of the Church, with all its rights and privileges, has been recognized as an actual fact. From this standpoint it has been admitted that the laws, as long as it is impossible to have them modified, are being administered in a benevolent spirit. This is the result of the declarations of the President of the republic himself, who has promised that these laws shall be carried out "without sectarian feeling" and without prejudice of any kind.

2. The episcopal hierarchy has obtained recognition.

3. The government has agreed that an Apostolic Delegate shall be permanently stationed in Mexico as a representative of the Supreme Pontiff to deal with the government in regard to the affairs of the Church.

4. To prevent schism within the Church when separatists claim to be Bishops and demand certain churches, only those will be officially recognized as Apostolic and Roman Catholic Bishops who are designated as such by the Apostolic Delegate.

5. The priests appointed to churches, instead of deriving their authority directly from the government, as was desired at the beginning of the revolution, continue to be under the Bishops as they were before the conflict. The Bishops select and nominate them and send them where they think fit, and the government has no part in these arrangements other than being informed of all such changes.

6. The representatives of Church and State are constantly at work to reconcile those interests which the extremists on both sides are trying to keep in opposition, to the detriment of those spiritual benefits which conciliation would preserve.

7. An end has at last been put to the endless and useless shedding of blood.

To show the conciliatory attitude of the Church and its opposition to the extremists, the Apostolic Delegate protested against the attempted assassination of President Ortiz Rubio in a letter to the President, in which he condemned "this immoral deed which dishonors the nation."

On Sept. 21, 1930, the agreement was again attacked in a newspaper, *El Hombre Libre*, by certain Catholics and apparently by certain of the clergy. The Apostolic Delegate, in a public statement, declared that "from the moment that the Pope made his decision every Catholic priest or Bishop was forbidden to criticize publicly the accord or to disparage those who in any way represented the Pope." I should add that the two prelates specially suspected of supporting the malcontents have since recanted.

Even the Pope himself has not been spared. The malcontents spread the rumor that he acquiesced only because the Mexican Government offered

him a large sum of money. In a letter dated Nov. 10, 1930, the Papal Secretary of State, writing to the faithful Catholics in Mexico, expressed "the hope that those belonging to the *Action Catholique* would increase in numbers and prove by their example that Christ the King could best be served by fidelity to legitimate discipline and by the abandonment of their personal opinions."

One of the most serious criticisms made of Mexican Catholicism by Protestants, especially in North America, is that the Church takes no interest in the morals of its members.

While admitting the more or less genuine motives of these accusations, may we not say to them, before listening to their explanations, "Physician heal thyself." Cure your own ills before you attempt to treat the ills, real or imaginary, of others. For example, cure the cancer of divorce and birth control which is so malignant in Protestant communities, destroying the American home and threatening the Anglo-Saxon race in the United States with extinction. But this is no polemic. I will examine objectively the accusations brought against Mexican Catholicism and the answers made by those most deeply concerned. I shall shelter myself behind the evidence of a third party and let the fair-minded reader draw his own conclusions.

On my way to Mexico at the end of November, 1930, on the Ward Line steamer Havana, a young English architect lent me a book by Charles Macomb Flandrau, an American, formerly a wealthy ranch-owner in Mexico. This book, entitled *Viva Mexico!*, was published in 1907 by Appleton in New York and reissued in 1927. The author summarizes the case against Mexican Catholicism in the following terms:

When the Mexican is married by a priest he believes himself to be married—one would suppose that the Church would recognize this and encourage unions of more or less stability by making marriage inexpensive and easy. If it had the slightest desire to elevate

the lower classes in Mexico from their frankly bestial attitude toward the marital relation, to inculcate ideas different from and finer than those maintained by their chickens and their pigs, it could long since easily have done so. But quite simply it has no such desire. In the morality of the masses it shows no interest. For performing the marriage ceremony it charges much more than poor people can pay without going into debt. Now and then they do go into debt; more often they dispense with the ceremony.

Moreover, the editor of a leading American magazine, published in New York, who is neither Catholic nor anti-Catholic and whose only desire is to be enlightened on the matter, wrote to me on Nov. 11, 1930, as follows:

We received an article some months ago written by a very reputable person, in which he surveyed the deplorable situation of social relations and conditions in Mexico. He made some perfectly startling statements of the large percentage of illegitimacy and of the terribly desolating inroads of social diseases. According to his statement, a very great percentage of the poorer people are infected, and the proportion of licensed women all over Mexico is increasing at an alarming rate. The formalities of marriage among the lower classes are almost dispensed with.

I have been assured that for the purpose of facilitating civil marriage formalities which should, according to law, precede the religious ceremonies, the Mexican Government a year ago issued a decree making such formalities entirely free of charge. A young French Catholic, who has been engaged for several months in historical research in Mexico, told me that in certain rural districts the clergy were not at all accommodating as regards matrimonial fees. I placed these serious accusations before a Mexican priest whose intelligence and broad-mindedness I vouch for. Here is his answer:

1. There are undoubtedly at the present time many who call themselves Christians and yet live immorally. The reason, as far as I can see, is to be found in the moral laxity now prevalent not only in Mexico but throughout the world.

2. As to illegitimate children, in Mexico City and, I think, throughout the

republic, their number is much smaller than that of legitimate children. You can convince yourself of this by going through the baptism registers in the parishes.

3. The fees for performing the marriage ceremony in this archdiocese, and I think in the whole of Mexico, amount to 15 pesos (about \$7.50). When the couple are poor, they are asked how much they can afford. If they are already living together they are not usually asked to pay anything. Almost all those who marry object to paying marriage fees to the Church. Yet they spend ten times as much on such superfluities as expensive clothes, automobiles and sumptuous wedding feasts. [I can add that during the missions in town and country, thousands of poor people are married for nothing.]

4. Instances can be given of priests who exact too much money from the people whom they marry, despite the Archbishop's forbidding it. But one swallow does not make a Summer.

5. As to the abandonment of the poorer classes, it is possible that many priests in the country, for various reasons, have deserted their parishioners. That is precisely the state of affairs that our present Archbishop wants to remedy by visiting personally the smallest villages and making Catholicism function to Christianize them anew.

6. In the criticisms which you have shown me I think there is a certain amount of exaggeration which is undoubtedly due to the information sent by Protestants to the United States.

7. However, it must be admitted that, generally speaking, we of the clergy have in the past been resting on our laurels, but the shocking situation out of which we are now passing has undoubtedly opened our eyes, and we hope that our apostleship and good example will enable us to replant the true faith of Jesus Christ in the hearts of our brethren.

Let us not forget either that the Indians of Mexico, almost the only ones not destroyed by colonization, have been Christians for only three centuries.

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 19, 1930.

ARCHBISHOP OF MEXICO CALLS PROTESTANTS A MENACE

On Dec. 25 Archbishop Diaz of Mexico, in his Christmas message, read at all Catholic churches through-

out Mexico, appealed to Catholics "not only for religious motives but also for patriotic motives" to cooperate in stamping out Protestantism in Mexico. Archbishop Diaz declared that Americans were trying to preach Protestantism with the view of gradually absorbing Mexico. He said that, although there was no intentional prejudice on the part of the United States Government, there was an evident intention to turn Mexico from Catholicism. He asserted there were good reasons for believing that American Protestant sects, motivated by political aims, were trying to aggravate still more the religious unrest in Mexico.

Archbishop Diaz continued: "Whatever may be the aims of the American Protestant sects experience has shown that Protestantism, frankly and openly preached, is something hateful to the Mexicans, who immediately perceive in that propaganda something that is contrary to their religion and to their country." The Archbishop further charged that the Protestants were trying to disguise their activities by calling their propaganda "evangelism" and trying to attract Mexican youth to their propaganda centres with excellent sports departments, libraries and other inducements to weaken Catholics' faith and destroy their traditional customs.

"It is the popular opinion here," he said, "that Protestantism is one of the elements with which the powerful neighbor nation is trying gradually but effectively to dominate and realize its imperialism in our land." Archbishop Diaz said that Protestantism, considered from the religious standpoint, was a "regrettable discord and a heresy; the mother and source of innumerable heresies," adding that "from the social point of view, and taking into consideration our traditions and our history, it is a social dissolvent that causes dangers and very grave ills in Mexico."

Families Conspicuous in American History

By ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH

Author of "Commodore Vanderbilt," "John Jacob Astor"

ALTHOUGH society in a democracy lacks the stabilizing qualities of a social order nourished by the perquisites of hereditary privilege, one of the most extraordinary phenomena of American life—and one which has persisted since the earliest period of our national existence—is the recurrent distinction which attaches to so many individual families. To some extent this is a heritage of the basic British traditions which subtly underlie so much of the fabric of our Republic. But the fact that the same phenomenon is apparent in later and alien stocks suggests that it must arise from a wider, more universal appeal. And this is based on the degree to which environment may influence individual choice as opposed to the dictates of heredity.

This difference is especially significant in families whose pronounced bent has tended toward the political field, including the whole scope of public service, not merely successful office-holding. To what extent have individual preferences been forced or distorted by the combined deadweight of family tradition and early surroundings—or, for that matter, by either factor? Consider the most notable remaining American family, the Adamses of Massachusetts, able to boast of two Presidents, a diplomat or two, a forthright philosopher and a handful of sterling bankers and merchants, a family still so vigorous

that after nearly a century and three-quarters of prominence it can still furnish a Secretary of the Navy who is actually a sailor. Old John Adams and his son, John Quincy, undoubtedly lived the lives they wanted to; but it is not so certain that Charles Francis and particularly Henry would have paralleled their destinies had they borne another name. Able, talented, sternly opinionated, the Adamses can never forget themselves. An Adams baby enters the world with a ready sense of responsibility to his surroundings.

Among political dynasties it is more difficult to estimate the Harrisons, who stem from that Colonel Benjamin of Berkeley, Va., who was a Signer and a Governor of his State. His son, William Henry, was a distinguished Indian fighter and frontier Governor and was elected to the Presidency in 1840, but died a month after his inauguration, so that his influence as Chief Executive was practically nil. His offspring, a second Benjamin, however, was given the Republican nomination in 1884 and defeated by Cleveland, only to win four years later. The Carter Harrisons of Chicago, father and son, of whom each was elected Mayor five times, were collaterals of this family, as likewise is Francis Burton Harrison, who served a number of terms in Congress and was Governor General of the Philippines under Wilson. The Harri-

sons are represented by other strains at this day, but as a family they may be said to have lapsed from national prominence—for the present at least.

The Roosevelts of New York are evolving a tradition. For generations successful merchants and bankers, they suddenly produced a scion who was politically minded. He became President of the United States—and see what happened! Of the current Roosevelt generation no fewer than three are prominent in the public service. The late President's eldest son is Governor of Porto Rico, and ambitious for further responsibility. One of his cousins, Franklin D., is Governor of New York and a prominent candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination; another cousin, Nicholas, is Minister to Hungary. And the production of successful business men has not diminished in the meantime. It may be argued that Franklin D. Roosevelt devoted himself to politics, not because he had a cousin of different political faith, who happened to be the most prominent and colorful figure of his time, but because he found himself with ample means and a sense of civic responsibility plus a liking for the excitement of public life. But what of the young Colonel, brought up to be his father's son? And what of the Minister to Hungary? If they had been named Jones, sons of a tobacco-planter and a dentist, would they have chosen careers of public service?

The most recent political dynasty is more easily analyzed. The La Follettes, as a family, have been prominent for but two generations. Yet what American family has won more rapid and sweeping success? The late Senator, Fighting Bob, held the State of Wisconsin as his private principality until his death, and was the most aggressive proponent of constructive radical legislation in the last quarter-century. (See article by Professor Ogg, pp. 685-691.) His son, Young Bob, succeeded him as United States Senator; his eldest son, Philip, was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority. Both are

under 40. In their case it may be said that the development of their talents was mainly effected by environment. Family tradition had not yet become sufficiently powerful to bend an individual's will in opposition to instinctive tastes.

In American business four dynasties stand remote from all others by reason of sustained tenure of power, social prestige and the prolificness of the strain. These are the Astors, the du Ponts, the Morgans and the Vanderbilts, families as strikingly dissimilar in antecedents and disposition as could be found in any country. Two of them, the Astors and the Vanderbilts, rose from the humblest beginnings and, perhaps in consequence, have been characterized by a social vanity which often has verged upon the grotesque. The du Ponts and the Morgans were products respectively of the petty French aristocracy and of tough-minded New England merchants and divines, who, in effect, constituted a very similar lesser nobility. Both families are conspicuous for a reserve and dignity which conceivably spring from an innate satisfaction with their origins.

The Astors and the Vanderbilts owe their fortunes in great part to the founders of the respective families, two grim, tight-fisted giants of the country's earlier financial era. Succeeding generations have done little but conserve the mounting properties through handed-down inheritance, although this alone is no mean accomplishment. Despite their absorption in the less serious side of life, they have shown themselves capable of conserving the money that John Jacob Astor put into New York real estate or that Commodore Vanderbilt acquired by proving that the man who competed most efficiently earned the biggest profits. Occasionally individuals show genuine ability. General Cornelius Vanderbilt has been a gallant and conscientious soldier; Harold Vanderbilt is an authority on bridge and sailed the last cup defender. The best known

of the Astor name is a Virginia girl, born Nancy Langhorne, who married the second Lord Astor.

Environment has beaten the Vanderbilts and Astors, triumphing over whatever spur heredity might have applied. Their history reads that it is preferable to dance, play cards, race horses, give parties and dine with princes than to labor in the bustle of Wall Street, consolidating another New York Central system or laying the groundwork for a second fortune in the lots of some undeveloped metropolis. Sophistication has replaced vision, satisfaction has supplanted endeavor.

With the Morgans and the du Ponts it is another story. For four generations now, the Connecticut family has been building the most powerful private banking house that ever existed. From father to son they have handed down, each generation accepting the task with a reverence, a consciousness of responsibility, truly amazing in the circumstances. It is the most notable instance in America of the persistence of family tradition working hand-in-hand with the influence of environment and whatever strange biological processes may be involved in the operation of hormones and ductless glands. The indomitable character of the Morgan strain is evidenced even in the physical appearance of the family. Generation after generation they have looked alike, big, burly, clear-eyed, slow-thinking men, intensely religious, tremendously proud, intolerant of oversight, essentially aristocratic, but at the same time governed by an irrefutable sense of personal responsibility.

The du Ponts, like the Morgans, have been developing and rounding out their business for the past four generations, and, again like the Morgans, they show a general tendency to family individuality, although they are not only more prolific but more catholic in their tastes, less of the same mold in their reactions to politics and social ideas. They include Democrats

and Republicans, they are liberal and conservative, prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists. Several of them have been distinguished as soldiers, statesmen and diplomats; but fundamentally their interests are concentrated within the world of industry. It is doubtful if any American family has interests so diverse. Certainly they represent a valid instance of the continuity of hereditary instincts coupled with a typically shrewd French appreciation of the needs of the moment, and also opportunities of the moment, as when after the war they converted their vast surplus stocks of cellulose for the manufacture of explosives to domestic requirements. There is something satisfactory about the du Ponts. They run true to form.

Besides such dynasties, families like the Rockefellers and the Fords might be called mere upstarts, despite the fact that each has come to typify an industry. One cannot estimate the tendency of a family in two generations—sometimes not in four or five, for occasionally a distinguished line may lapse into obscurity, only to blaze forth again with its original brilliance whenever the spark of genius is rekindled in the strain. The Byrds of Virginia are an instance of this peculiarity. No family stood higher in the beginnings of the Old Dominion. They were leaders in politics, society and war, feudal landowners of immense prestige. But times changed; feudalism died in the South; a Yankee millionaire became the owner of Westover. For a long time one never heard of the Byrds. Then suddenly they produced a generation richer in the things of the spirit than the ancestors who hobnobbed with King Carter and took for granted their membership on the Governor's Council. Of three brothers, one is a famous explorer and a pioneer of aviation; the second, former Governor of his State; the third, a farmer who has proved that farming can pay without slave labor. Environment by itself scarcely could claim

such diversified results. There must have been some latent force in the bloodstream which ultimately re-asserted itself—a force stronger than ordinary pride of name, not to be confused with the influence exerted upon a promising son by a strong-willed father.

These two latter factors must be considered in judging the significance of the ordinary business dynasty, where a son steps into a father's shoes, sometimes where a grandson assumes a burden two previous generations have supported. In such cases more often than not the impelling motive may be the deadweight of family tradition complicated by a lack of imaginative resources; these are the so-called dynasties which inspired the phrase "from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves in three generations." The great American families are free of this influence. They display freshness and originality from generation to generation, seldom preoccupation with some one field of endeavor. This applies to families like the Lowells, the Holmeses and the Cabots of Boston; the Cuttings, the De Forests, the Hewitts, the Hamiltons of New York; the Bayards of Delaware, who can boast of sending members to the Senate for three generations; the Rushes and the Mitchells of Philadelphia; the Lees of Virginia. These families, and hundreds of others as worth while, owe their distinction to a certain roundness, a universality of interest. In different generations they have produced merchants, bankers, divines, surgeons, lawyers, educators, politicians, soldiers, sailors. They owe their continuance as families to the possession of brains rather than control of a key-industry, a manufacturing process or an accumulation of stock. But however diverse their interests each generation bears the hallmark of its family tradition. The rhythm of their success is characterized by an unmistakable cadence into which are woven the pulse-beats of heredity, the percussions of environment and the obscure-

ly haunting strains of traditional obligation to an unspecified ideal.

Few Americans appreciate the number of families whose names have figured in the roster of the fighting services for from three to five generations. The late Commander Rogers, distinguished for his flights over the Atlantic and Pacific, was the fifth of his name since the Revolution to wear the navy blue. The engineer officer in charge of public buildings, parks and streets in Washington today is Colonel Ulysses S. Grant 3d, whose father was Major Gen. Frederick Dent Grant and whose grandfather was the Federal commander in the Civil War. Other Civil War names like Ruggles and Heintzelman are high in the list of Generals, and there were recently in service grandsons of Stonewall Jackson and Jeb Stuart. Outside the service ranks, Robert E. Lee's grandson is a successful surgeon in New York, and his little son, the great-grandson of the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, bears the General's name—perhaps the proudest name an American can bear, since the direct lines of Washington and Lincoln have been terminated.

Families as relatively evanescent as the Palmers, the McCormicks and the Pattersons of Chicago; or the Stanfords, the Huntingtons, the Crockers and the Spreckelses of California, cannot be termed great. The Western families are too recent to be considered dynastic in the full sense, and except for the McCormicks and the Pattersons, none of them seems to be animated by that spirit of individual initiative without which no family, not even the numerous Vanderbilts, can persist indefinitely, that is, as a dynasty. For a dynasty is nothing but a name enshrined in a tradition. It is powerful or weak, enduring or transient, by virtue of the name's potency, and that potency must spring from continual accretions to the bulk of the tradition. A tradition which ceases to grow very soon becomes a myth. And who cares about myths nowadays?

The Reign of Terror in the Ukraine

By MILTON WRIGHT

WHEN glaring accounts of organized raids by Polish soldiers in East Galicia were printed in the American press, the Western World rubbed its eyes with incredulity. Could Poland, with the memory of her own century of dismemberment and suppression still fresh, herself place knouts in the hands of soldiers and send them throughout a captive province to beat an innocent peasantry into submission?

Galicia, a border country, long has been a sore spot. For centuries it has been a battleground between Poles and Ukrainians; for long years before the war it was coveted by both Austria and Russia. In the World War no spot in Europe was the scene of bloodier battles. It is that part of the Ukraine which lies furthest west, and is inhabited by 40,000,000 peasants who, for the last three decades, have been waking to a keen sense of national consciousness, until today they are active, aggressive and determined at all costs to be independent.

The country which is completely Ukrainian covers 300,000 square miles, stretching from the Caucasus Mountains in the east to the Carpathians in the west, from the Black Sea in the south to the border of Muscovite Russia 300 miles to the north. Since the time of Herodotus it has been known as the granary of Europe, but grain is by no means the only item in its vast natural wealth.

Its deposits of iron and coal are among the largest in the world; its oil wells, especially those in Galicia, are wonderfully rich; immense quantities of tobacco and sugar beets are grown. These natural resources are the Ukraine's strength and weakness—the basis of self-sufficiency if the people can attain their independence, a rich prize eagerly coveted by every powerful neighbor.

Time was when the Ukraine in its entirety belonged to the Ukrainians, a separate and distinct branch of the Slavic race, with its own language, history, folklore, culture and political ideals. Since the end of the eighteenth century, however, it has been split, the large eastern portion coming under the dominion of the Russian Czar, and the smaller western portion, East Galicia and Bukovina, falling to the Emperor of Austria. Though divided politically in this way, the Ukrainians have remained one in culture and political aspirations.

With the collapse of the Russian Empire the natives of the Russian Ukraine seized the opportunity to establish their own republic. After two years of turbulence and upheaval, Simon Petlura, a newspaper editor, began the defense of the country against the Russian Bolsheviki invading from the north, and against the Russian Monarchists, first Denikin and then Wrangel, who attacked the Ukraine from the south. When the Austrian Empire fell, the Poles, Czechs,



POLISH GALICIA AND THE UKRAINE

Serbs and other nationalities included in the Dual Monarchy asserted their right to independence. Among the first of these were the Ukrainians of East Galicia. They proclaimed their freedom and declared for union with the Ukrainian Republic established in the Russian Ukraine.

Twenty-four days later—in the Fall of 1918—the Republic of Poland was proclaimed. One of the first acts of the new Polish Government was the invasion of East Galicia. The Ukrainians, with a force of 160,000 men covering a 300-mile front, resisted stubbornly, but the Poles triumphed after nine months of hard fighting. Establishing an iron militaristic rule in East Galicia, the Poles pushed on into the Russian Ukraine after the Ukrainian Army of East Galicia, which had joined forces with General Petlura. Taking their stand at Kaminetz-Podolsk, the Ukrainians formed the famous "Triangle of Death" against their three powerful foes, the Bolsheviks on the north, the Russian Monarchists on the south and the Poles on the west. To save his force from annihilation, Petlura concluded an alliance with the Poles. Together the Poles under Pilsudski and the Ukrain-

ians under Petlura fought on against the Bolsheviks. But they fought without the Galician Ukrainians. Two-thirds of these were dead, some on the field of battle, some from the ravages of typhus. The remnant cut their way through the Polish lines and carved a path across Galicia over the boundary into Czechoslovakia, where they laid down their arms.

The Polish-Bolshevik War ended in March, 1923, and a treaty was signed under which Poland abandoned Petlura and his cause of Ukrainian independence, recognized a Russian Soviet Ukraine, subservient to Moscow, and received in return the Russian Soviets' recognition of Poland's claims to rule over not only Galicia, but also Volhynia and Polysse, two Ukrainian provinces which, before the war, had been held by the Czar. These three provinces are inhabited by 7,500,000 Ukrainians, with small minorities of Jews, Germans and Poles. When in the same year the Allies recognized this treaty, which ceded Galicia to Poland, the hopes of the Galician Ukrainians were temporarily crushed. Thus the Ukraine alone of all the nations formerly subject to Russia or to Austria

failed to achieve independence. But hopes have not been abandoned. Scattered throughout Europe today are approximately 100,000 Ukrainian émigrés—soldiers, writers, politicians—all of them planning for an independent Ukrainia.

The Russian Ukraine, a semi-independent State under the thumb of Moscow, is seething with rebellion. Guerrilla warfare is going on constantly, which reports from Moscow declare are the action of roving bandits or of reactionaries. Only a few months ago forty-five Ukrainian leaders were tried at Kharkov for treason on the charge that they were seeking to ally themselves with western powers against Moscow. Uprisings are frequent, and it is not uncommon to learn of the trial of 100 men at once for rebelling against the local Soviet authorities.

In the Galician Ukraine an active secret Ukrainian military organization is growing, a group which was formed in 1923, when the Poles invaded Galicia. At that time the assassination of Pilsudski was attempted at the Lemberg Fair and some of the Polish officials were killed. This secret organization, named *Ukrainska Viyskova Organizatzia* (Ukrainian Military Organization), is more commonly called the UVO. It has approximately 3,000 Ukrainian patriots sworn to give their lives to end Polish rule. Its founder and leader is Colonel Eugene Konoaletz, former commander of Kiev fortress under Petlura. With other leaders he is in exile.

It is significant that the most important movement of the Ukrainians of Galicia has been along educational rather than military lines. Hundreds of thousands of members have been enrolled in an association known as *Prosvita* (Enlightenment). This organization alone has built more than 3,000 libraries in East Galicia with contributions from the peasants. In nearly every village it has established a Ukrainian chorus and a Ukrainian amateur theatrical society. About

1,500 cooperative stores have been organized, and about 1,000 banks and loan establishments have been founded. High schools and institutions of higher education were established with funds raised from the peasantry, augmented by from \$100,000 to \$200,000 received from America each year for the purpose. About 3,000 athletic and scout societies were organized with memberships totaling from 150,000 to 200,000.

The outstanding achievement, however, was the Ukrainian University established at Lemberg. This the Polish Government suppressed, whereupon the Ukrainians hit upon the idea of a secret university. Handicapped by the necessity of holding each successive set of classes in a different place, in order to evade the police, this peculiar educational institution functioned for two years before it was effectively broken up by the Polish authorities. As a last resort the Ukrainians then organized a national university in exile. Located in Prague under the auspices of Thomas Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, as honorary protector, this university began with 2,000 students and 50 professors.

With such strong national consciousness, the Galician Ukrainians naturally were not idle politically. At the Polish elections in 1928 forty-one Ukrainian Deputies were elected to the Polish Sejm or Parliament. In fact, the 4,000,000 Ukrainians in Galicia and the 3,500,000 in Volhynia and Polysse constitute the largest minority in Poland.

The allied powers suggested originally that the Ukraine be given autonomy—actually there is a treaty to that effect—but Poland, instead, set out to Polonize the country. The first effort was in the direction of colonization. The government monopolized the sale of landed estates and for this purpose created a special bank. Landlords were permitted to sell only to the bank, which in turn sold only to Poles. Here and there farm buildings

owned by Polish officers or colonists began to be burned.

The sessions in the Sejm at Warsaw were turbulent. Ukrainian, Jewish and German Deputies demanding their rights stood firm. Pilsudski dissolved the Sejm and ordered new elections, determined that the new Parliament should be more predominantly Polish than the old one. It seemed a fitting time to impress upon the opponents of Pilsudski the power of the dictator. The Ukrainians, as the strongest minority in Poland, were singled out for a lesson.

Alleged acts of incendiarism provided the semblance of a justification for sending a "punitive expedition" into East Galicia; it began by arresting Jewish and Ukrainian leaders. Most of the Ukrainian Deputies in the previous Parliament were among those imprisoned. Two months before the election in November, 1930, the military force divided Galicia into sections and proceeded systematically across the country. Within a few weeks more than 2,000 peasant leaders were arrested.

Any punitive force sent into a territory is likely to go to extremes, and the Polish soldiers were no exception to the rule, especially as Poles and Ukrainians have been enemies for centuries. Ukrainian schools were burned, in many cases the soldiers driving the women and children with whips to apply the torch. Libraries, banks and cooperative stores, representing the work of years, likewise went up in flames. Teachers, priests and peasant leaders were flogged into unconsciousness, revived with buckets of water and flogged into unconsciousness again. Names, dates and places are on record of deaths resulting from such floggings. Women and girls were outraged. Homes were pillaged and wrecked. Supplies of food stored for the Winter were destroyed. A pastoral letter issued by Archbishop Count Shepticky, head of the Ukrainian Church, protesting against the brutality of the Polish soldiery,

was suppressed by the government.

Although the leaders were in prison or in exile, during the November election, with thousands of voters hiding in the forests, and although electoral districts had been gerrymandered, twenty-one Ukrainians were elected as Deputies to the Polish Sejm from East Galicia, all of them members of the Ukrainian National Democratic party. In the previous Parliament there had been forty-one. This loss of 49 per cent is less, however, than the loss sustained by other minorities. Chief among the Ukrainian leaders elected were Dr. Dmitro Lewicky, former leader of the Ukrainian faction in the Austrian Parliament and president of the Ukrainian National Democratic party, and Dr. Makarushka, secretary-general of the party. Both these men were in prison when elected.

Genuine autonomy, with some responsibility to Warsaw, might have been acceptable a year ago, but today nothing less than complete independence will satisfy the Galicians. There is now in Galicia a new and rapidly growing party—the Ukrainian Nationalist party, a type of Fascist political organization opposed to any foreign rule in any part of the Ukraine. This is in addition to the Ukrainian parties which are still functioning—the Ukrainian National Democratic party, a liberal, progressive organization supported by the intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie and the richer peasants; and the Ukrainian Peasant party, supported largely by the smaller peasants. The numerical strength of the Communist party is negligible.

In the Russian Ukraine guerrilla warfare is still being carried on, and an organization known as the Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine is actively at work in Poltava, Chernikov, Kiev, Ekaterinoslav and other provinces. Galicia, however, is recognized as the heart of the Ukrainian movement, dangerous alike to Soviet Russia and to Poland.

Robert M. La Follette in Retrospect

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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[Not since Robert M. La Follette polled 4,686,681 votes as the Progressive candidate for President in 1924 has the third-party idea come so forcibly before the American people as during recent weeks. This revival was due to the sensational disclosure that Robert H. Lucas, executive director of the Republican National Committee, had secretly fought the reelection of Senator Norris of Nebraska, insurgent Republican, in the campaign of October, 1930. In defending his actions, Mr. Lucas virtually read Senator Norris out of the party, declaring that his support of Governor Smith, Democratic Presidential candidate in 1928, no longer entitled him to be considered a Republican. In his retort that he was a Republican who stood for the purification of his party, Senator Norris was supported by Senator Borah and other insurgents in the Senate. He likewise refused the invitation of John Dewey, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action, to form a third "liberal" party.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

IN a single generation our kaleidoscopic American democracy has thrust the torch of political leadership into the hands of a colorful and daring Roosevelt, an urbane and cautious Taft, a determined and dominating Wilson, a suave and meaningless Harding, a placid and enigmatic Coolidge, a voluble and superficial Bryan, an expansive and captivating Smith, a serious-minded and businesslike Hoover. It has done more; it has cheered and cursed across the stage the dynamic, indefatigable and implacable La Follette. Without him the gamut would not have been full run.

Three or four of these national figures have already pretty well settled into the places which history holds for them. Certainly this is true of Harding, of Coolidge and of Bryan. Probably it is true of Taft. The verdict is not made up on Roosevelt, still less on Wilson. Hoover and Smith have yet to bring the record of their achievements to a close. La Follette reached the end of his labors some five and one-half years ago. What of him?

The question is not an easy one. To begin with, few political careers in our time have covered so long a period, touched so many major problems or exhibited so great stress and intensity. "It is hard," remarked Senator Borah upon hearing of his colleague's death in 1925, "to say the right thing about Bob La Follette. You know, he lived 150 years." In the second place, only Wilson—possibly also Roosevelt—has been so played upon by cross-currents of opinion. No twentieth century leader among us has been lauded more extravagantly by his friends and denounced more vehemently by his foes. Ardent devotees, scornful enemies—these are all. Nobody ever took La Follette casually and disinterestedly. In the third place, the things that La Follette stood for are by no means wholly of the past. The political and economic order for which he fought may or may not eventually come to

realization. We shall not altogether know how to place him until we see the America of 1950 or 1975.

Necessary even to the tentative estimate here proposed is an understanding of the world in which La Follette found himself when he entered public life. Born in a log cabin near Madison in 1855, dividing his early years between attending a district school and working on a farm, going forth with his degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1879, he became District Attorney of his home county (characteristically defying the local organization in doing so) and in 1885 entered the National House of Representatives. Losing his seat after three terms in a Democratic landslide, he held no public office from 1891 to 1901. But, elected Governor of his State in the last-mentioned year and advanced to the United States Senate in 1906, he was continuously in public life until his death in 1925—an unbroken stretch of practically a quarter of a century.

Hardly any period of similar length in our national history has witnessed an equal amount of social and economic change. Certainly none ever brought greater developments in the business life of the nation and in the relations between business and government. The World War was, of course, responsible for a good deal that happened in the period. But, after all, the major underlying trends and tendencies were well established before the war and were affected only rather incidentally by our share in that tragic adventure. Even at the turn of the century the United States had grown rich and strong. The devastating Civil War and its aftermath had been left behind. Though hardly realizing it, we had become a world power. Relieved of apprehension aroused by the campaign for the free coinage of silver, business had taken on a fresh lease of life and was growing by leaps and bounds. The age of "big business" was indeed upon us. Railroads had been pushed into every

section of the country and were being consolidated into widely ramifying systems. Captains of industry were building large corporations, which in turn were being combined in still larger "trusts." The Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation and dozens of other vast industrial combinations were in the heyday of their earlier prosperity.

"Big business" is not inherently or necessarily bad; an increasing amount of our business in the future will probably be of that character. But a generation ago the ambitious and expanding industrial, commercial and financial interests of this country had not altogether learned what it means to treat competitors with common fairness or to have decent regard for the public well-being. Competition was often ruthless and deadly; new and more ingenious methods of warfare were almost daily brought into play; in many lines monopoly was the confessed goal, and lacked no great distance of being attained; public regulation was scant and commonly ineffective. Moreover, government was largely at the beck and call of "the interests." In State after State the corporations and the political bosses were hand in glove. Members of Legislatures were nominated and elected as corporate interests dictated; United States Senators were named by the legal departments of railroads; Legislatures were induced—or bribed—to pass laws that the corporations wanted, to defeat measures that they did not want, to manipulate taxation so as to favor the interests, to grant away privileges and rights of inestimable value. Men in control of the great industries who would have been perfectly honest in their individual dealings saw nothing wrong in robbing the government or the public or, if they had compunctions, felt and openly said, when challenged, that the things that their organizations were doing were necessary and inevitable. Most people accepted the situation or

at all events were not excited about it.

The stage could not have been set more perfectly for a rising and ambitious young politician of La Follette's particular aptitudes; and it was a matter of no difficulty for him to formulate and declare a set of principles calculated to stir the fight that he loved and to win the favor that he coveted. Whatever, he proclaimed, was unfair and dishonest in dealings between individuals was unfair and dishonest in dealings between corporations and between corporations and individuals. If it was wrong for a man to steal a dollar from his neighbor, it was just as wrong for a corporation to steal a million dollars from the people of a State by refusing to pay its fair share of the taxes levied to support the government. If it was reprehensible in an individual to employ fraud or intimidation to prevent his neighbor from exercising the suffrage, it was equally reprehensible when the same result was accomplished on a grander scale by control of the machinery of government by the great business interests of the land. If it was wrong for an individual wantonly or recklessly to maim or kill one of his fellows, it was just as wrong when the same result was accomplished wholesale and more impersonally by large employers of labor who refused or neglected to use available devices and means to protect their employes against accidental injury and death.

On grounds of simple logic it is not easy to take exception to these fairly axiomatic propositions. At all events, La Follette never doubted their complete validity; and one cannot correctly appraise his life and work without remembering that they formed not only the talking points of his political program but the warp and woof of a social and economic creed to which he was honestly and passionately devoted.

The first field, or area, in which La Follette found opportunity to put

his hand to the task of reducing these theorems to practice was his own State of Wisconsin, which, if the truth be told, stood quite as much in need of reform as did most other parts of the country. Having fought his way up to the Governorship in 1901 in defiance of corporations and bosses alike, no one knew better than he how largely the political life of the State had become an agency of the moneyed interests—especially the railroad and lumber companies—and how difficult it was for any man, however qualified, to win public office without the endorsement of the political machine which those corporations controlled. No one, too, knew better how difficult it was to stir the people to a realization that anything could be done about the matter. But with the fervor and pertinacity which he never failed to bring to a cause in which he believed and with the Governorship as a lever, he launched and in a few short years carried through what amounted to a revolution in the political, economic and social life of the State. Though in both program and method there was plenty for many people to disagree with, the undertaking stirred the interest and the outcome commanded the respect of the country and the world.

Of things tangibly achieved, only a few can be mentioned. In 1902 an anti-pass amendment to the State Constitution forever did away with the previously notorious corruption of public officials by the lavish distribution of free railroad passes. In 1903 the first State-wide direct primary law in the country was enacted. In the same year a railroad tax law replaced a percentage tax on alleged gross earnings by a tax computed on a physical valuation basis, as in the case of other property. The same measure created a State railroad commission, which in 1907 was given jurisdiction over public utilities generally. With the new taxation of railways was bracketed also, in 1905, a progressive tax upon inheritances. Simultaneously a vigor-

ous railway rate-making law was passed and likewise an act introducing the merit system in the State civil service. The first legislative and bill-drafting service in the country was established; corrupt practices in elections and primaries were defined and penalized; the notorious "third house," or lobby, was for the first time brought under control; the extension service of the State university was created; laws in the interest of workmen's compensation, pure food, public health and a score of other matters of popular concern found their way to the statute book in swift succession and the country's earliest industrial commission was created to administer them. That time and thought went into the preparation of these measures is evidenced by the fact that, although with hardly an exception they were challenged in the courts, not one was ever pronounced unconstitutional. Amplified and strengthened, all are still in operation, and not one but has been influential upon the legislation of other States.

From Wisconsin La Follette, elected United States Senator in 1905, passed to the broader domain of national affairs. As a newcomer and especially as one with an established reputation as a trouble-maker, he was relentlessly "hazed" in the Senate; and, though elected as a Republican and regarding himself as one, he found himself obliged to play a lone hand until, in the course of a few years, he drew round himself a group of eight or ten colleagues willing to be known as "progressives." During some nineteen years of service at Washington he was less familiar to the public as a proponent of new measures than as a foe of pending measures of which he disapproved. The explanation lies, not in any lack of aptitude for constructive policy, but rather in the way the stage was set. Appearing on the scene when the "trust busting" period inaugurated by Roosevelt in 1901 was passing into history, he sat in the

upper house through eight years (1909-13, 1921-25), when the Republican conservatives, under Taft, Harding and Coolidge, were enacting laws which in most instances he could not endorse, and through eight other years of Democratic rule, for which he bore no responsibility. Moreover, during six of those Democratic years, wartime conditions and measures diverted Congressional and public attention from the great tasks of political and economic reform in which he was principally interested. In addition, there was the heavy handicap of ill-health during much of this later period.

Far from barren, however, were these Senatorial years. Following up his Wisconsin experience, the Senator bore a conspicuous part in the framing of railroad, banking and labor laws, including the creation of the Department of Labor, the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal farm loan system. In particular, he bore main responsibility for (1) the hours of service act of 1907, limiting the number of consecutive hours during which railroad employes may be kept continuously at work; (2) the employers' liability act of 1908, abrogating or modifying, in favor of railway employes involved in personal injury actions, the harsh common-law rules evolved under primitive industrial conditions when the employe or servant had few if any rights which the master was bound to respect; (3) the hotly contested section of the postal appropriation act of 1912, requiring the management of every newspaper and other periodical (except scientific, religious, &c.) to file with the Postmaster General semi-annual sworn statements showing the personnel and ownership of the enterprise and, in the case of daily newspapers, the average number of copies distributed among paid subscribers; (4) the railroad valuation act of 1913, directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to ascertain and report the physical value of all property owned and

used by common carriers throughout the country; and (5) the seamen's act of 1915, bringing to a peculiarly neglected and helpless class of workers relief from conditions so onerous as to constitute virtual peonage. He likewise sponsored measures under which a legislative reference division was established in the Library of Congress, the right of organizations of Federal employees to petition Congress and to affiliate with unions outside the public service was recognized, and telegraph and telephone companies were brought under more effective regulation. It was he who, near the end of his career, introduced the resolution under which the investigation of the naval oil leases proceeded. Although not one of the acts of Congress chiefly associated with his name was ever declared unconstitutional, he persistently advocated curbing the Supreme Court's powers of judicial review. The proposal, however, got no further than did another of his bold ideas, namely, the outlawry of war. A list of measures or projects which he fought on the floor of the Senate—to mention only a few, the Payne-Adrich and Fordney-McCumber tariff bills, the Taft project for reciprocity with Canada, President Wilson's "armed ships" bill of 1917, the declaration of war against Germany, America's entrance into the League of Nations—would almost be tantamount to a catalogue of twenty years of national legislative activity.

"A lifetime on the front pages"—such was La Follette's epitomized biography as phrased by a contemporary eulogist. What of the record which the front pages—and likewise the statute books, the Parliamentary debates, and the unwritten annals of politics—disclose? What sort of place does this record justify assigning the man in the history of our times?

To a figure such as La Follette there are two main tests to be applied. One is that of political leadership; the other, that of statesmanship. Political

leaders, unhappily, are not infallible statesmen.

All in all, there can be little hesitation about ranking La Follette among the cleverest political leaders of his day. Any man who by his unaided efforts can capture a State from an entrenched and determined enemy, hold it against all comers for a quarter of a century, make himself the idol of uncounted millions throughout a country the size of the United States and win 5,000,000 votes as a candidate for the highest office in the land may be set down as possessing unusual powers of attraction and command. It is true that in pressing his program of political and economic reform La Follette did not have to break ground entirely new; to a degree, the way had been prepared by other men both in Wisconsin and in the nation. More than any other person he, however, put the breath of life into the "progressive" movement, organized and energized it, and piloted it to such victories—of no mean proportions—as it achieved. It is of the essence of political leadership to perceive, as he did, the character of the times, to understand the public temper, to capitalize the good-will of those who want a change and to take advantage of the mistakes and weaknesses of the opposition.

As a leader La Follette had no lack of weighty assets. Sprung from the soil, he knew the common people, sympathized with them and believed in them. "The people," he was wont to say, "have never failed in any great crisis in our history." In the second place, the things he happened to be interested in were things which great numbers of people consciously desired, or at all events could be stimulated to want. Few men's lives have touched through politics so many hopes—and, shall we add, so many fears—in the lives of others. High in the list, too, stands the man's indomitable energy. Though handicapped—more than most people knew—by nervous and digestive disorders which produced recur-

ring breakdowns and at times threatened complete collapse, La Follette was for thirty years the most spirited, resourceful and relentless fighter in the American political arena. Having learned the political game from his enemies in Wisconsin, he from first to last fought the devil with fire.

Even more important, La Follette had the faculty of impressing friends and foes alike with his honesty, sincerity and devotion to the public well-being, combined with an extraordinary capacity for inspiring affection among his followers. There were shortcomings; and in his later years they stood out so prominently as to cost him the support and even the friendship of many of his earlier associates in his home town, his State and the nation. He was egotistical. He was over-ambitious to reach the Presidency. He had an excessive flair for publicity, and was not always above practicing the arts of the demagogue. He fought and slew bosses, only himself to become a boss of the first water in his own State. He allowed disappointment to make him petulant, morose and bitter. The credit cannot be denied him, however, of having principles from which he could not be shaken, of repeatedly choosing the harder course when the easier would have led to preferment, and of being motivated fundamentally by a desire to serve the larger, better interests of the country as he understood them. Superlative oratorical powers, an exceptional memory for names and faces, and an unfailing sense of the dramatic were still other assets as a leader. The winsome personality known to his friends and associates never, however, came as close home to the general run of voters throughout the country as did that of Al Smith, or perhaps even that of William H. Taft. For a tribune of the people La Follette was sometimes singularly reserved and aloof.

Finally comes the question of the man's statesmanship. That there were large elements of statesmanship in

him admits of no doubt. To start with, he was an indefatigable student of the political, economic and social problems with which he sought to deal. He believed in proceeding only on the basis of carefully authenticated information, and was never so much at home as when surrounded with colossal collections of reports, diagrams, graphs, statistics and similar materials from which to fashion the devastating arrays of facts that so often made his speeches long and dry, but also unanswerable. Furthermore, he believed most thoroughly in the use of the expert in government. Putting experts to work in the interest of economy and efficiency was, indeed, the central feature of the "Wisconsin idea" as developed during his six years in the Gubernatorial chair. He had no lack, too, of far-reaching and coherent plans for promoting the public well-being in his State and in the nation. Sometimes his temper and policies seemed mainly destructive. Day in, day out, he criticized, deplored, condemned and attacked. From his student years until his death he was agitator, reformer, crusader; and not infrequently his zeal drove him to unreasonable lengths. But, in the main, he would destroy only to rebuild; and whatever one may think of the structure he would erect—in the interest of more popular control over government or of more equitable relations between corporate interests and the people or of improved conditions of life for the masses generally—the fact cannot be blinked that he at least had definite, and as a rule studiously matured, constructive plans and procedures.

Not all his policies and contributions have worked out as he hoped. The direct primary has proved a disappointing piece of political machinery. The physical valuation of the nation's railroads has turned out a costly and not particularly useful undertaking. The seaman's law, though justifiable on grounds of humanity, has hampered the development of

American shipping. The oft-expressed notion that "the real cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy" has been pretty thoroughly exploded. Even the serviceableness of so-called experts in government has been found subject to some rather serious limitations. It would be futile, however, to expect from statesmanship 100 per cent wisdom and infallibility; and enough of La Follette's reforming and constructive work has stood the test to give him an impressive record of achievement.

Two main limitations remain to be mentioned. The first was a certain lack of capacity for adjustment to the realities of a changing situation. La Follette was most truly in his element as an insurgent Republican of the Rooseveltian era. It was that era that first gave him scope, and he never really outgrew it. Apparently he hardly perceived—or, if he did, he was indifferent to—the changes that came over the country in the next twenty years. By 1924 a large part of what he had fought for had been won by his own efforts or otherwise. Yet in the campaign of that year he is found instinctively reiterating the battle cries and formulas of an earlier day. There were still, of course, plenty of things worth fighting for; but the tone and methods and ideas of the campaign did not reveal the fresh orientation that might have been expected.

A second defect was the lack of what may be termed world-mindedness. This was perhaps but a phase of the tendency to live in the past which has been mentioned. Until 1906 La Follette's horizon hardly reached beyond the bounds of his own State. After that date it was broadened to take in the United States. But it was never stretched beyond seas. The same thing is true, of course, of most of his colleagues in the Senate and of a very large proportion of his fellow-countrymen everywhere. Becoming world-minded has been a very painful process for Americans generally and

most of them have not yet accomplished the transformation. A man of La Follette's vision might, however, have been expected to see more clearly than he gave evidence of seeing the larger consequences of the war and its aftermath for America and the world. The point is not that he opposed our entrance into the war and condemned the Versailles treaty. The treaty, at all events, is something of which few intelligent people nowadays are proud. The criticism is merely that in his general outlook upon world affairs La Follette did not display an insight or appreciation marking him off as wiser than the general run of Americans or than the short-sighted and provincial politicians by whom he was surrounded at Washington. For example, he slipped as readily as others into the error of supposing that the short cut of outlawing war, without putting anything in war's place, would take care of the most persistent and difficult of all world problems.

To conclude: La Follette was a political leader of the highest or nearly highest rank. His leadership was preeminently that of the crusader and reformer. It was directed toward those elements of society that commonly incline toward the left in politics, yet without ever going the full lengths of radicalism. In the fields of public action, which he made peculiarly his own, namely, the democratization of government and the regulation of economic life, he reached a high level of constructive statesmanship. His statesmanship was, however, less rounded than that of, let us say, Woodrow Wilson or Ramsay MacDonald. He was never tried in the Presidency. The Presidency, it is hardly necessary to add, is not for such as he. His rôle was that of an awakener of thought, a stimulator of action, a purifier of the public life. There was sacrifice in it, and suffering. There was also satisfaction. It is the only rôle that a Robert M. La Follette could have played.

European Farming in a New Phase

By NATHAN S. RUSSELL

[Europe, including Russia, is still the largest grain-producing area in the world. In 1928, she produced 1,381,000,000 bushels of wheat, while the United States yielded 903,000,000; Canada, 534,000,000; Argentina, 310,000,000; India, 390,000,000; Australia, 159,000,000. Nevertheless, the cause of the world grain crisis of today is not to be found there, for between 1913 and 1928 European production of wheat increased only 10.5 per cent and acreage under wheat only 5.3 per cent. In the same period the world's wheat area, excluding Russia and China, increased from 204,000,000 to 245,000,000 acres. This was due almost entirely to four countries: Canada, 15,000,000 acres; the United States, 14,000,000; Australia, 7,000,000; Argentina, 3,000,000. Fundamentally, the currents of world trade in wheat are flowing in about the same direction as before the war. Europe since the war has done practically little more than catch up with pre-war production. To make this possible there has been an agrarian revolution, the story of which Mr. Russell recounts from expert personal observation in the following article. —Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

NOT the least of Europe's post-war activities are the agrarian reforms by which she is transforming her economic structure. Since 1917, revolutionary changes in land holdings have occurred in Russia, Poland, Rumania and other Balkan countries, while in Italy, Germany and France new methods of intensive farming have produced a notable increase in agricultural output.

This tendency toward agricultural reform had its earliest inspiration in the discovery by European farmers that new and rapid means of trans-

portation had transferred their market system from a national to a world-wide basis. There arose a cry for protection; tariff walls sprang up everywhere, and agriculturists organized to oppose their interests to those of the consumers. But the producers of foodstuffs after the war suffered equally with the exporters of manufactured articles, and the remedy was found not in prohibitive tariffs but in a readjustment of agricultural conditions to conform to the new trend of world economics.

At the outset, the value of the changes seemed doubtful. The reorganization of the great estates in Central and Eastern Europe, whereby millions of small cultivators with modest savings became proprietors, did improve the conditions of the peasants and the small landowners who worked chiefly to supply their own necessities. This meant, however, a return to primitive methods of farming, causing large tracts of land that formerly produced surplus crops to render insufficient supplies and led to a general decline in output with a consequent loss of purchasing power.

In Germany and France agricultural efforts have been mainly directed to securing increased production per acre by the employment of up-to-date methods of tilling and reaping. No violent change has been made in their systems of land tenure. But in the grain producing centres of the Balkans, in Italy and Russia,

agrarian reforms have been of wider application and have had greater consequences.

In Italy a vast scheme of ruralization has been put into operation and a plan of interior colonization is being carried out. The measures adopted were the result of careful investigation of the question of national production; each phase of its activity was examined by the authorities and given due sanction and encouragement. It was realized in Italy that industry had reached its maximum, and that with overproduction which under the present conditions the country could not absorb, an adverse commercial balance was growing yearly. Therefore it was decided to divert the surplus energies of the nation from the factories to the fields.

The problem of repopulating the rural areas was studied under these aspects: the reclamation of waste lands, the extension of cultivable acreages, and the retention of the people on the farms with the return to them of some of those who had forsaken rural life for work in the cities. The government, convinced that with few raw materials Italy had no hope of becoming a manufacturing country and invading foreign markets, decided on ruralization to offset overproduction and to overcome unemployment.

The first move was to regulate emigration. In 1928 the number of persons allowed to leave Italy to find work was 82,000, as compared with 265,000 in 1926 and 227,000 in 1927. In January, 1929, all foreign recruiting of Italian laborers was formally prohibited. Encouragement was then given to Italians living abroad to return; employment was given the home-coming workers, until they could be absorbed into agriculture, on extensive schemes of public works for which the government voted 130,000,000 lire. These operations, in close relationship with the development of agriculture, consisted of enlarging and improving rural roads and reclaiming and irrigating the land. As a result

of the interior immigration set up in connection with newly formed agricultural syndicates, over 80,000 laborers were returned to the land in 1928, and in 1929 154,000 unemployed were engaged on reclamation work. Since 1921 approximately 2,000,000 acres of formerly useless soil have been made available for the farmers.

Faced with an acute food shortage and rapidly mounting imports, Italy began "a battle of wheat." Energetic measures were adopted to improve the quality of the grain and the quantity produced per acre. Special funds were devoted to spreading the knowledge of wheat culture and scientific methods of cultivation; credits of 11,000,000 lire for experimental stations, 5,000,000 for grain selection and a similar sum for threshing machines were set aside. Astonishing results have been obtained. From 46,000,000 quintals of wheat raised in Italy in 1924 the production has risen to 70,000,000 in 1929. The aggregate value of farm products has advanced from 8,500,000,000 lire in 1922 to over 12,000,000,000 in 1929. A new system of marketing has been introduced and the regularity of sale has been sustained by the diffusion of credit. The Credito Agrario furnishes the farmers with loans for improving production and sale—for the purchase of seeds and machinery and for preventing the sale of their products in bulk at a loss. Savings banks and large milling companies compete to help the farmers, taking wheat deposits as security. The Italian farmer now works with a sense of certainty that no matter what happens he will not be abandoned by the government in his endeavor to raise crops or to sell his products to advantage.

In Russia agrarian reforms of a different character are among the most important achievements of the Soviet Government. Russia is 82 per cent rural and its economic system is based on the activities of village life. Before 1917 the major portion of this vast territory was held by the great

nobles while the peasants subsisted on small holdings. Low yielding fields, miserable stocks and a deficiency of moisture had reduced the villagers to a low standard of living incomprehensible to people outside Russia. With the establishment of the Soviet régime the large domains were seized for distribution among the peasants and for cooperative farming. While in Poland, Rumania, France and Italy the tendency is in the direction of small holdings, in Russia the tendency has been the other way.

The Soviet authorities soon realized that it was impossible to govern the State without the aid of the masses who produced the food of the nation, and when coercion failed, they resorted to conciliation, submitting the reforms to a referendum in which a favorable majority of two-thirds of the voters placed a village on a waiting list. New allotments were made, but the village character of the old system was retained. Machine farming on a large scale then became possible. New sources of power at a reduced cost were made available, and the great handicap—the deficiency of moisture—was remedied by deeper plowing and thorough working. Mixed agriculture was encouraged. By these means, excellent forage, improved animal husbandry and proper rotation of crops have resulted.

As the preliminary experiments became successful and the peasants in growing numbers began to see the advantages of the new system, the authorities initiated a vast scheme of reorganization of land tenures. They made extensive use of propaganda, employed farming experts, created land banks with power to give long-term credits and appointed economists as "agronomes" in all the central areas. The agronome is a sort of general officer in his district who advises rather than commands. He supervises the State farms, establishes the various cooperative groups and prepares the estimates of his district for inclu-

sion in the national plan. He lays out the program assigned to him in the government scheme of production, and he supervises the assessment of taxation.

The rebirth of agriculture in Soviet Russia includes an extensive chain of some 300 land banks and an equal number of credit societies. The latest figures available show that up to 1929 over \$400,000,000 in loans have been advanced. With the adoption of the five-year plan of production intensive culture was begun. The latest reports show that in some sections of the country the most optimistic predictions have been surpassed, and villages which have been allotted 17 per cent of the year's output have produced as much as 24 per cent.

What are the cumulative results of these changes? Over 120,000,000 souls are involved in the experiment—people who for centuries have lived on the border line of mere subsistence and experienced repeated famines. The peasants are still in their village huts, but new townships are growing in many places. They lead much the same lives as before, but now they have the assurance of undisturbed use of the land. In some cases their homes are lighted by electricity and cheered by wireless, while the cinema has appeared in the villages. From the percentage of farm products absorbed by local markets, the amount consumed by the peasants and the amount exported, it appears that a considerable advance has been made in comforts and in purchasing power.

The back-to-the-land movement so marked in Italy and Russia is none the less evident in Poland, where it has developed with increasing momentum during the past five years. According to official statistics of its population, the productive activity of Poland is mainly agricultural; the number of people living on the land varies from 60 per cent in some provinces to 81 in others. The value of Polish agriculture according to the latest figures amounts to nearly

\$2,000,000,000, but because of the density of population in certain districts, the production of such crops as cereals does not meet the needs of the present agrarian régime. The tendency toward increased production is being intensified by official action and the division of the large estates in recent years has assured a preponderance of small proprietors.

The agrarian crisis which began in Europe in the early part of the present century and which continued up to the World War, had seriously affected the owners of extensive holdings in Poland, and this, with the growing costs of upkeep and cultivation, helped in persuading them to sell their estates. This was further promoted by the influx of capital slowly amassed by the immigrants from the villages. These people were induced to buy property partly by the Commission on Colonization and the Peasants' Bank, but largely by the appetite for land so marked in the Polish peasant. Small estates constitute more than 60 per cent of the territory in some of the provinces, and when forest lands are excluded, the percentage rises as high as 75, and with communal properties in places reaches 81.

Under the present government, Poland has entered upon an era of intensive agricultural development, and farming is fast becoming completely industrialized. Sugar refineries, distilleries and dairies give solid support to agricultural enterprise and permit a notable increase in the exportation of sugar, alcohol and butter. The agricultural associations are the chief agencies in the new evolution of Poland. Hundreds of regional societies further the sale of products, the purchase of seed, manure and machinery. A central society establishes experimental stations all over the country, founds schools and maintains traveling instructors for the small proprietors as well as special peasant schools to make popular the modern methods of farming. Cooperative societies for the purchase and sale of

produce are operated in harmony with others for land allotment and for the rescue of indebted peasants. Thus notwithstanding the present financial crisis, Poland has definitely entered upon an era of sound agricultural development.

In Rumania, the agrarian reforms have been of wider application, and have produced greater effects than any in Europe. They have transformed the economic structure of the country and given new direction to its political tendencies. These drastic changes resulted from the government's need of satisfying the demands of the peasants for a larger share of the land, of arresting the decline of national production and stopping the agitation and disturbances that menaced the life of the State. The peasants, by virtue of continued possession and legal grants, have always claimed two-thirds of the land, but in 1864 a new distribution was made whereby the greater portion of the cultivable land was ceded to the large landowners. Of approximately 16,000,000 acres in the old Kingdom of Rumania only 5,000,000 were allotted to the farmers of whom not more than 600,000 became proprietors.

The protestations and claims of the rural population were left unheeded and their demonstrations disregarded or suppressed. It was not until after the war of 1913 that their demands were seriously considered. In February, 1914, the Liberals, presenting themselves on a platform embodying the rights of the peasantry to an additional 2,000,000 acres of land, won the election and forced the government to act. To remedy the deplorable condition of the peasantry the now famous agrarian reforms were inaugurated. The four provinces of Rumania were dealt with by separate laws varying according to the differences of their agricultural and industrial conditions. The laws were grouped under two headings—expropriation and distribution. The dispossession

of the great landowners was declared necessary to increase the acreage of cultivable land, to accord to each estate the greatest number of tenants possible, to improve the education and farming methods of the cultivators and to provide a livelihood for ex-soldiers or their families and dependents. Expropriation was not permitted, however, until just compensation had been paid to the owners.

To compensate the landowners, departmental commissions were formed to estimate the values of the lands. They submitted their reports to a Central Agrarian Committee which unified the prices for presentation to the Courts of Appeal which ruled on the assessments. Distribution was the constructive side of the reforms and was carried out in studied order. The regular distribution ranged from seven to sixteen acres, but under special conditions larger allotments were made in regions selected for colonization, in hill and valley regions and in densely populated areas.

From first appearances, the results of the reforms, in so far as increase of production is concerned, seem doubtful. But there is a general belief that with peasant education, intensive culture and liberal use of machinery in tilling and harvesting, a new era of prosperity has begun.

According to the report on cereal crops in Rumania presented to the last International Congress of Agriculture at Rome, the agrarian reforms have already expropriated more than 12,000,000 acres of cultivable land, and nearly 2,000,000 peasants, or 87 per cent, have become propri-

etors. Wheat is the principal factor in the economic life of Rumania, and the decline in its production has led to great loss and hardships; but with an increasing population, the extension of cultivable areas, and the intensive culture occasioned by the new reforms, the cultivation of wheat is now again in full progress.

It is hardly possible that the changes now being made in the economic systems of Europe will not affect the other nations of the world. When in the early part of the last century the European nations, greatly to the detriment of agriculture, embarked upon a world-wide industrial and commercial expansion, no one foresaw the terrible climax of 1914. Producing too little food in comparison with their needs and too many manufactured goods, Europe had to invade foreign lands for food, raw materials and markets, and was forced to colonize. Competition and conflict, national ambitions and jealousies resulted in imperialism and the exploitation of other races. Today, the movement, though barely perceptible, is in the opposite direction. People are working everywhere at high pressure to produce food, and local markets plentifully supplied with money are beginning to absorb the surplus production.

The nations are learning to live within their own borders and by their own resources, and the masses are daily becoming healthier, happier and better educated. National tendencies in the future must of necessity be more in the direction of peace than of war.

The Changing American Home

By MAY WOOD-SIMONS AND MIRIAM SIMONS LEUCK*

EACH generation has commented fully on the manner in which society has changed since its own youth, but seldom has this comment been so true as in the past twenty years. The year 1910 saw the seeding of many developments which the war and the much-discussed machine age have forced into maturity. What fruit they will produce in 1940 can at best be only a matter of wild conjecture.

Social changes are evident in literature, in the theatre, on the streets and in industrial establishments, but their basic determinant lies in the home. To visualize their importance we must survey the difference between the American home of 1910 and that same home today.

To find the average American home of the present we must look in a new location. In 1910 more than half the homes were in settlements smaller than cities. By 1920 city and country were nearly even, and forecasts of the 1930 census indicate that the balance may have been upset in favor of the urban location. Even for those homes left on the farm the urban influence has become predominant.

The change of location has included a new type of home. The "cities of homes" of twenty years ago were cities of houses. Today such individual houses are banished to the suburbs, there to battle with ever-encroaching apartment developments. Compared

with its modern counterpart, the apartment of 1910 was a generous abode. It had five, six or seven rooms or even more. It rambled over a large part of the floor it occupied, providing not only a spare room for country relatives when they came to town to visit, but a dining room, a kitchen and that almost forgotten space, a pantry.

Today our cities, and even our suburbs are filled with apartment buildings housing one, two or three room homes. The guest room has gone, and even the head of the family may sleep in an in-a-door bed. The pantry has become a set of cabinets, the kitchen an alcove or gas plate, sending the inhabitants to the nearest restaurant for a large number of their meals. The physical furnishings have changed with the surroundings. The parlor has become the living room, the centre of family activities. It is generally furnished both in better taste and more comfortably than were the majority of old-fashioned front parlors. The piano, first indication of affluence, is gone, but in its place have sprung a thousand radios which, with the bridge table, constitute the chief amusements offered by the home.

Who lives in this dwelling? Certainly a smaller family than before. In 1910 there was an average of over five persons per dwelling, 4.7 of whom were members of the immediate family. Roomers and servants made up the difference. These extras have gone and forecasts of the 1930 census indicate that about 3.9 persons compose the American family of today.

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Nor are the extra persons necessarily small children. In 1920 the average family consisted of 4.3 persons, yet there were only 1.4 individuals under the age of 15 per family. Will the new decrease be in children or in older dependents—parents, aunts, cousins or grown offspring who prefer an independent establishment of their own? In any case, the family circle is smaller, and the responsibilities of the housewife to the individuals who look to her as homemaker are less diverse, though not necessarily lighter.

The average family derives its income largely from the efforts of the father. Women, however, are contributing an increasing proportion of the family earnings, their average for the United States in figures collected during 1918-19 having been 9 per cent of the total family income. There are many households in which women, as widows, divorcées, single women or wives whose husbands have been incapacitated, are the sole wage-earners. In a study made of 31,482 women workers in four cities in 1920, 21 per cent of these women were the sole breadwinners of the household. Has this change in women's economic importance in the household led to any change in the division of expenditures? Apparently not, for in studies of family budgets the basic needs of food (38.2 per cent), clothing (16.6 per cent), rent (13.4 per cent), fuel and light (5.4 per cent) and house furnishings (5.1 per cent) still compose the larger part of the budget.

How does modern home-making differ from that of the past and what are its trends for the future?

The first change has been one of subtraction. Certain occupations that seemed indissolubly associated with its work have been banished or made relatively unimportant. The traditional rôles of cook, laundress and dressmaker which filled much of the time of the earlier housewife have been transformed. Her successor opens cans, broils a chop or steak, arranges a salad, adds desserts and relishes

from a near-by delicatessen or bakery and her cooking is done. She rinses lingerie and stockings, telephones the laundry and the dry cleaner, and wash day is past. She sews a fresh collar on a dress or a loose button on a garment; these are frequently the limits of her task as seamstress. Strangely enough, household experts do not feel that the home she makes in this fashion is any less efficient or healthful than that of her ancestors. The diet is probably better balanced, the clothing is smarter and more economical than if she made it herself, the cleaning is done at a lower price in human toil.

Her other task as homemaker is that of mother. True, the modern mother has fewer children to care for than were in her own family. On the other hand, she is apt to devote more time to their care, both physical and spiritual. She is met with instructions from physician, newspapers, magazines, books, and at her woman's clubs and social gatherings. The woman of today who tries to bring up her children by instinct is rare; if anything, she is more apt to err by using the child as an object of experiment for a vast amount of information absorbed through tedious but not always critical study.

Aside from wage earning and home-making, the greatest change has been in the increase of leisure time and its employment. For some this extra time is spent in amusement; for others it represents a period to be devoted to study, whether through formal institutions, individual effort or club groups, or to civic activities. The rise of philanthropic and civic groups largely dependent upon the volunteer efforts of women is a sign of their newly aroused social consciousness.

Women have been emphasized in this changing family because it is their lives that have been most affected by the new order. Industry has shortened man's working hours, but city life has sent his home further and further from his place of work. Traveling to and from it has absorbed a

considerable part of the extra time and kept his position in the home practically a constant factor. The husband of the wage-earning woman may feel that the change is an improvement or not, depending on his personality. The husband of the modern housewife probably is not greatly affected by the changes in the home. They have come too gradually, and the limited time he spends there makes him insensitive to its variations as long as he is reasonably comfortable.

Men as men, rather than as husbands, have felt the change as it has brought women either into competition with them or to assist them in their work and in their civic activities. Two elements exist side by side in this situation—resentment, born both of competition and sex-conflict, and appreciation of the new woman as more interesting and a better companion than the old. These feelings vary with the individual, but few men are free from the conflict induced by the presence of both.

The change has come within a generation, for the woman of today spent her childhood in that large family home, enveloped in domesticity, which seems obsolete today. Equally striking has been the educational change. The modern woman not only receives more formal education than that given her mother, but she frequently surpasses her father. The social and economic tone of today is set by women between the ages of 25 and 45, and the majority of them, unless drawn from greatly underprivileged households, not only completed grade school work but had several years of high school. Some followed this with business college or other professional training. For an enormous number, and their percentage on the whole increases with every year, high school was but a stepping stone to some college work. This change in education is not only one in amount, but in kind. These women have studied not only languages and literature but also eco-

nomics, sociology and the physical sciences. They come into a new world with some theoretical understanding of its changing economic and social factors.

Undoubtedly the war did much to force the acceptance of new social and economic ideals which would have come inevitably but which would have been resisted for another decade. Men were wanted at the front, and women were needed to take their places at home. The result was a change not only in economic status but in psychology. The end of the war saw a determined effort to reverse the changes, to put things back where they had been. But no human experience can be obliterated simply by disapproving or ignoring it, and the essential changes have remained. Perhaps the outstanding difference between the pre-war and the post-war generations is that those of the former are self-conscious in approving of the changes, while the young people who have appeared on the scene since the war neither approve nor disapprove the fundamental situation, but merely accept it and more or less politely doubt if anything else ever existed.

The most important of these changes would seem to be woman's new economic status. Although the percentage of women working has remained nearly constant in the population, the last ten or fifteen years have seen them expand the nature of their endeavors and penetrate practically every branch of business and the professions, from the highest to the lowest ranks. They are displaying an ingenuity in uncovering new openings which would seem incredible to those who believed that women had no originality. Women inventors, women advisers in various trade fields, women conducting wild animal farms have become quite a matter of course. These women have achieved an independence of outlook, a sense of their own competence, to say nothing of a financial stability unknown to their predecessors. Even more important has been

their influence on other women. In an age when independence is practically synonymous with economic independence, they have shown that a woman who works as hard as a man need be no more bound than her brother.

Some students of the family have been alarmed by the economic independence of women, especially when taken in conjunction with our rising divorce rate. They have feared that women were losing their balance, that they were rejecting their biological inheritance for the publicity and sense of power of a career. But there is danger of overemphasizing this factor. In a study made by one of the writers of this article for the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, on "Women in Odd and Unusual Occupations," it was found that the vast majority of women who went into these fields did so not from any love of personal aggrandizement but for the same reason which sends women of the working class into the factory—from economic necessity. If this be true of women who have shown originality in their choice of work, how much more so is it of the mass of women who work at the routine tasks of the office, shop, or the less distinguished professions? As to the effect of a career on the size of families, the same study disclosed that of those women who had attained such pre-eminence in their unusual professions as to gain recognition in *Who's Who*, the majority were married and had families larger than the average American family of the time.

Economic necessity weighs more heavily in some cases than in others. A relatively small proportion of the women workers have all the family responsibilities on their shoulders. A large proportion supply that marginal amount of income which may make the difference between actual hardship and small comforts, between ignorance and education for children, between neglect or proper care for sick or disabled members of the family. Even more significant, as far as

the family is concerned, is the fact that many marriages could never take place or might be seriously postponed beyond the age of fruitfulness had not the wife accumulated some funds before marriage, or if there were not the possibility of her contributing to the family income for at least a few years thereafter. The standard of living which we set for ourselves and for our children is often too high for attainment by one worker during the first five years after his entrance into competition.

Because the large mass of women workers are not married, it is sometimes asserted that their existence leads other women to earn money rather than to marry and become mothers. Undoubtedly some women do prefer work to marriage or at least to the type of marriage which it has been their opportunity to share. As far as that is concerned, many men also prefer to remain unmarried. In a primitive society every individual is forced into marriage by social custom, regardless of his fitness for that state, but primitive marriage has more chances of success, through its simplicity, than complex modern marriage. In fact, students of divorce statistics are sometimes led to feel that it might be better if even more men and women were discouraged from marrying or at least forced to hesitate and consider before rushing into matrimony.

Many unmarried women workers would prefer the easier task of modern homemaking. But economic necessity does not force them to marry against their inclinations in order to secure financial support, while urban social organization offers less opportunity for normal meeting and mating than did the small town and rural environment of our forefathers. Relations are more formal. We cannot know all our neighbors; hence we know none of them. The family is no longer a part of small social groups, the source of informal acquaintanceships. Such factors play a much

larger part in the problem of delayed marriages and unsuccessful marriage of today than does the economic independence of women. True, some women may wreck their homes through intolerant ambition, expressing itself in an economic career, but frequently they are only the emotional successors to those women who made their associates miserable in a past generation through a similar intolerant ambition for social or family power. In so far as the possibility of economic independence has acted as a lifebelt to save women from intolerable marriage conditions, it may have been of actual benefit to the institution.

America leads the world in divorces, with one marriage in every five ending by that route. The situation is alarming because no definite cure-all explanation can be offered. The legal grounds for divorce vary so widely among the States that the causes for which decrees are obtained are practically worthless. Otherwise we should conclude that New Yorkers were more unfaithful, Chicagoans more cruel, Nevadans more prone to desertion, and the natives of South Carolina strangers to domestic discord. The results obtained from various social questionnaires may be more helpful, but when thoroughly sifted they show that the sum of the personalities involved rather than any single cause has usually caused the breakdown.

In any discussion of social changes, including marriage and divorce, the question of sex standards is bound to arise. Modern literature, modern dress, the modern theatre, are indicated as signs that we are letting down the bars. No one who has frequented various groups today can doubt that there is more frankness in discussion and more familiarity in the superficialities of conduct today than has been the case for some time.

A student of history remembers, however, that such externals go by cycles and need not implicitly indicate a breakdown of morals. The adults in the reign of Charles I lived to hear their children speak as Puritans and their grandchildren as rakes. Real social standards go deeper and for that reason are more difficult to determine. It is probable that various factors such as the war with its nervous tension, the new economic independence, the tendency of urban civilization to hide the individual from constant supervision, have tended to a certain laxity. But actual conduct is determined by the individual, his tastes, discipline, physiology and inhibitions. Manners only hide or disclose such individual reactions. To a certain percentage of the population sex will probably always be of primary importance; that is nature's method of assuring the perpetuation of the race. To others, in whom affection and stability play a larger part, the normal family of their own generation will seem the solution. Still others will practically neglect this angle of existence, choosing pre-eminence in competitive endeavor.

It is practically impossible either to state real facts as to existing social standards or to make prophecies. Questionnaires and statistics on this subject are too desultory, too poorly controlled to offer more than interesting reading. That changes are taking place is evident. They would seem to be the result of two conflicting trends—the tendency of urban society to permit the individual to enhance his individualism, a tendency of which the modern gangster is a symptom, and the counter-tendency of complicated machine society to shape the individual to a mass pattern. Upon the interaction of these tendencies the social changes of the future depend.

Broad Scope of American Philanthropy

By EDWIN L. SHUMAN

Editorial Staff, The Literary Digest

WHEN Stephen Edward Harkness recently gave \$10,000,000 to found the Pilgrim Trust for "promoting the future well-being of Great Britain by helping the country's present needs," he created yet another outstanding example of the ever-widening reach of American philanthropy. As that rising journalist, ex-President Coolidge, has said, this great sum given by an American for the promotion of human welfare in a foreign nation gives new emphasis to the common brotherhood of man irrespective of national boundaries. He might have added that it also illustrates once more the injustice of the charge, so often made in the press of foreign countries, that Americans are selfish isolationists, interested only in accumulating wealth for themselves.

American philanthropy in our day is making history in at least three ways—in the unprecedented sums given, in the purposes served, and in the vast extent of the field covered. The last-named point deserves more attention than it has thus far received. There is an increasing trend toward the international in philanthropic programs, as pointed out by Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and as demonstrated anew by the costly dental clinics just given to the children of London and Paris by George Eastman of Rochester, N. Y.

Charity is as old as civilization, but the sums given in the first thirty years of the twentieth century are without parallel in history. For the last half-dozen years the total of such benefactions has exceeded \$2,000,000,000 annually. In 1929, according to the John Price Jones Corporation's figures, it was \$2,450,720,000. Of these annual billions, the churches and hospitals get about one-half, charity one-quarter, education one-sixth, and other benevolent objects the rest.

Only about 3 per cent of this popular outpouring of funds for benevolent purposes comes from endowed philanthropic foundations, but these modern business enterprises are the leaders that are setting the pace, breaking new paths and determining the direction in which the charity of the future is to move. There are now about 150 of them, large and small, with a total capital of \$1,000,000,000, and together they give away about \$60,000,000 a year. A study of how these millions are given and where reveals an amazing change since the days of the Victorian Lady Bountiful.

About a century ago the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow protested that much of the church and other philanthropy of the day was unfitting the recipients for self-support. His warning might be called the first stone in our present-day foundations. Other observers noted the waste

of indiscriminate giving, and the result was the creation of the first Charity Organization Society in England in 1869 and the first American one in 1877. All these societies "resolutely opposed indiscriminate and casual almsgiving" and organized a relief system based on careful personal inquiry. The most distinct change from the Lady Bountiful idea, however, dates from the early years of this century, when wealthy Americans began applying modern business methods to the difficult task of giving away money wisely.

Benjamin Franklin had the nub of the idea when he made his two bequests of £1,000 each to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia, with provision for compounding the interest through a hundred years. Then came the first social service endowment—the Magdalen Mission of Philadelphia—founded in 1803 to rescue "unhappy females." The next development came from an Englishman, James Smithson, who in 1846 bequeathed \$508,000 to found the Smithsonian Institution at Washington "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men"—a mile-post in international philanthropy. The Peabody Education Fund, created in 1867 by a wise Massachusetts merchant, did an educational work in the Southern and Southwestern States that became a model for national philanthropy.

About 1890 the accumulation of wealth in the United States began to reach the point where it could overflow into great universities and other beneficences. Mr. Carnegie's first American foundation came in 1896. The surplus millions were getting into action. We entered the new century with seven foundations of some importance, but wealth and wisdom were not yet fully harnessed for teamwork.

The endowed foundation in its present form is distinctly a twentieth-century affair. It resembles its parent, charity, no more than an airplane resembles the stage-coach, and it

reaches out to the ends of the earth. The credit for much of the pioneer thinking that created it belongs to Andrew Carnegie, and the credit for its greatest development belongs to the two John D. Rockefellers, father and son. Some of the products of the process of evolution that has been going on since 1900 are indicated in the following table:

OBJECTS AND PRESENT CAPITAL OF SOME OF THE LARGEST FOUNDATIONS

Rockefeller Foundation (well-being of all mankind).....	\$147,000,000
Carnegie Corporation (diffusion of knowledge).....	135,000,000
General Education Board (medical and other education)	47,000,000
Duke Endowment (education in the South).....	40,000,000
Hershey Fund (education of orphan boys).....	40,000,000
Commonwealth Fund (child welfare)	38,000,000
Kresge Foundation (education)	37,500,000
Carnegie Institution of Washington (research).....	33,000,000
Carnegie Foundation (annuities for teachers).....	27,000,000
Julius Rosenwald Fund (education of Negroes).....	20,000,000
Russell Sage Foundation (social betterment).....	15,000,000
Cranbrook Foundation (education)	14,000,000
Curtis Institute of Music (musical education)	12,500,000
Juilliard Foundation (music).	12,000,000
Buhl Foundation (public welfare)	12,000,000
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	10,000,000
Children's Fund of Michigan (child welfare)	10,000,000
Milbank Memorial Fund (social welfare).....	10,000,000
Spelman Fund of New York (better politics).....	10,000,000
Pilgrim Trust (aid to English people)	10,000,000
Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation (social welfare).	10,000,000

Total capital of twenty-one foundations\$690,000,000

Mr. Carnegie devoted the latter part of his life to putting into effect his "gospel of wealth," whose basic doctrine was that a rich man is merely the trustee of his surplus and in duty bound to use it in social service. Before he died he distributed nine-tenths of his fortune in countless gifts, including 8,000 church organs, 3,000 libraries, the Peace Palace at The

Hague, and appropriations to 500 universities and colleges. Two-thirds of his total distribution of \$350,000,000, as recently stated by Clyde Furst, secretary of the Carnegie Foundation, went toward the creation of eight large, permanent funds, beginning with the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh in 1896 and ending with the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust in 1916. All were either national or international in scope.

During the same period the elder Mr. Rockefeller was working on similar lines, often in close touch with Mr. Carnegie. The varied benefactions of the two Rockefellers approximate a total of \$600,000,000. This sum has been given to mankind through five great foundations, beginning with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in 1901 and ending with the International Education Board in 1923. All five have now been practically merged in the two larger ones—the General Education Board (1903) and the Rockefeller Foundation (1913), the latter being the longest armed of all these high-power business enterprises to "promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." It has recently taken over the foreign program of the International Education Board and is carrying on that board's chosen work of aiding educational institutions and agencies in lands across the sea.

The various Rockefeller endowments have given away not only their income but also \$225,000,000 of their original funds. Thus the General Education Board retains only \$47,000,000 of its original \$129,000,000. The Rockefeller Foundation began the year 1929 with a principal fund of \$209,000,000 and by the end of the year it had an unappropriated balance of only \$147,000,000. Many other foundations are following a like policy. This is one of the reasons why hostile criticism of these financial giants has practically died out. Fear of their future power is seen to be

groundless and the value of their work is unquestionable.

The Russell Sage Foundation's list of *American Foundations for Social Service*, revised to 1930, summarizes the work and aims of 186 benevolent trusts in active operation. Eliminating the community funds, which are necessarily local, there remain 150 of the foundation type. Their capital ranges from a few thousands to well over a hundred millions and the area covered by the activities of most of them is surprisingly large. Classifying these 150 foundations according to scope, we find that almost exactly one-half are national in their reach, more than one-quarter are international and less than one-quarter are local in the sense of being confined to one city or State. In other words, more than three-quarters are national or international. This tallies with the recent statement of Evans Clark, executive director of the Twentieth Century Fund established by Edward A. Filene of Boston, that there are 108 foundations in the United States operating on a national or international scale of sufficient importance to win public notice. Together, says Mr. Clark, they give away nearly \$60,000,000 a year, apportioned as shown in the following table:

A ROUGH ESTIMATE OF THE ANNUAL DISBURSEMENTS OF AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS

Object.	No. of Foundations.	Amount Donated.
Education	36	\$30,500,000
Individual aid.....	48	9,000,000
Research	33	7,000,000
Health	22	4,000,000
Child welfare.....	26	3,500,000
Esthetics	9	1,000,000
Social welfare.....	18	900,000
International relations	12	800,000
Industry and business	7	750,000
Religion	3	600,000
Government	4	550,000
Genetics	3	400,000
Aviation	1	150,000
Agriculture	3	130,000
Miscellaneous	14	279,000
Total.....	239	\$59,559,000

It will be noted that more than one-half of this total goes to education—

\$30,500,000 given yearly, not to the needy but to agencies that will help to keep men and women from becoming needy. Instead of doctoring effects, the givers are trying to reach causes. The faith that built up our public school system is still so strong in the hearts of American philanthropists that they are giving the lion's share of their millions to promote education at home and abroad.

The General Education Board, having chosen medical education as its main field, has spent in the last decade nearly \$75,000,000 in support of large medical colleges such as the one at Johns Hopkins and in the creation of new ones such as that at Rochester. At the same time it has distributed about \$83,000,000 among universities and colleges of the United States, including \$14,000,000 to Negro schools. It is still disbursing about \$18,000,000 yearly for these purposes. The Carnegie Corporation also is investing \$8,000,000 annually in this form of human betterment. The world owes the discovery of insulin, which has stayed the death-sentence of thousands of diabetic patients, to the research work in the University of Toronto of three men of science who were supported by a single grant of money from the Carnegie Corporation.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching began in 1905 with the idea of making free gifts to teachers grown old in unselfish service, but, evolving a still better idea, it now maintains a system of old-age annuities toward which the colleges and professors themselves contribute a small percentage. Under this system 9,000 teachers in 700 institutions will receive more than \$10,800,000 each year after retirement, and a total of \$45,000,000 will be distributed in the next thirty-five years. The Carnegie Corporation, the largest of the ironmaster's foundations, is distributing a similar amount in teachers' annuities and insurance and is making its entire capital of \$135,000,-

000 work for "the diffusion of knowledge."

In the last dozen years the Commonwealth Fund, established by Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness, has distributed nearly \$15,000,000 for child welfare in Europe and America. Child welfare is also to be one of the main objects of the \$50,000,000 Kellogg Foundation, now in process of formation. The Hershey Fund is educating orphan boys in useful trades and occupations. The foundation recently created by J. C. Penney, chain store magnate, is devoting itself to vocational training, and the Juilliard Fund is doing a like service for students of music. The Julius Rosenwald Fund is multiplying little schoolhouses for the colored folk in the South and has gone far toward solving our difficult race problem. The Twentieth Century Fund is trying to inculcate better economic methods. And so on through the roll of thirty-six foundations. A large proportion of the \$9,000,000 credited to "individual aid" in the foregoing table also belongs under education, for the money goes into scholarships and traveling fellowships.

This brings us to one of the most important international activities of American philanthropy—the interchange of graduate students among the nations, with the consequent interweaving of the lines of advanced thought all over the world. One fund—the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation—makes all its donations in this way. Thus far it has given several hundred novelists, composers, painters and poets a chance to carry on their work as fellows of this foundation in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the South Seas. Each has \$2,500 and a travel allowance for one year, with a possibility of renewal. The American Council of Learned Societies has just appropriated \$200,000 for similar fellowships for research in the humanistic sciences.

Fellowships are given by the inter-

national health section of the Rockefeller Foundation to men and women in foreign countries "with the understanding that these persons shall be trained for definite posts in the health services of the governments requesting their appointment." More than 650 men and women from forty nations received fellowships of one kind or another in 1929 from this one foundation. These young specialists come from Japan and Haiti, Siam and Norway, India and Peru and all the civilized lands of the globe, and they study in schools of eighteen countries besides the United States at the expense of the Rockefeller Foundation. If we add the General Education Board's fellowships, we have a total of 1,450 for a single year. The two trusts together have given 5,800 such fellowships at a cost approaching \$10,000,000. The International Education Board has financed a large number of graduate students in all parts of the world, besides contributing millions to foreign universities. Other foundations are investing at least a million a year in this new method of binding the student centres of the whole world together in one great institution for the interchange of intellectual discoveries.

Probably the most dramatic chapter in the book of the deeds of American philanthropy is that of scientific research, especially in the fields of biology and medicine, in which fourteen foundations are specializing. As the Rockefeller Foundation is the largest of these, its work may be taken as representative of the group. The scene of action is the whole earth. At an expense of \$3,000,000 a year this organization is carrying on a medical science campaign that is directed mainly against three widespread diseases—hookworm, yellow fever and malaria. The battle against hookworm disease is still continuing, but the firing line now stretches from China to Africa and from Italy to the South Seas. Men are risking their lives in airplanes to scatter Paris

green in Nicaragua or to spray liquid paraffin over swamps in Java to kill malaria-carrying mosquitos. Yellow fever apparently has been driven from every tropical country except Brazil and West Africa, but the fight is still dangerous. Four eminent research workers of the Rockefeller Foundation have laid down their lives on the yellow fever front. Soldiers of science fall, but the army marches on.

When United States Army officers cleaned up Cuba and Panama, showing what health administration can do, they inspired this same foundation to undertake a world-wide program of cooperation with government health bodies and the result, though less spectacular, is quite as remarkable as that in medical science. This program alone has cost \$40,000,000 and has helped to furnish trained health officials for practically every country under the sun. Besides, there is the \$70,000,000 given for medical education, chiefly in foreign countries.

Of the many ways in which the Rockefeller Foundation has shown its soundness of judgment, none is more striking than its prompt support of the League of Nations Health Organization. In spite of a hostile propaganda at home, it has contributed a substantial part of the League's health budget from the first, thus making possible the extraordinary success of this health section under an able Polish doctor. The result is that we now have at Geneva a great clearing-house through which the health leaders of all nations are pooling their knowledge for the benefit of mankind.

For the relief of dispossessed and needy Jews in Eastern Europe approximately \$2,500,000 is raised and spent annually by the American Joint Distribution Committee, the central agency of American Jewish welfare work. Since the war this committee has raised and expended the enormous total of approximately \$100,000,000 for the aid and rehabilitation of impoverished Jews in Eastern

Europe and Palestine. This includes \$10,000,000 used to colonize large numbers of Jews on farms in Russia.

Among the many beneficences of the late Daniel Guggenheim was the creation of the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation to promote "the well-being of mankind throughout the world"; also the \$2,500,000 Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics, which financed Charles Lindbergh's first air tour of this country, and of which Colonel Lindbergh is now a trustee. The Murry and Leonie Guggenheim Foundation, organized more recently, has the same kind of worldwide program, but is thus far devoting its efforts to free dental relief for poor children in Greater New York.

The Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia, founded by Mrs. Edward W. Bok, daughter of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, is giving free musical education to about 290 students with proved talents in that line, its express purpose being "to hand down through contemporary masters the great traditions of the past" and "to teach students to build on this heritage for the future." Many of its graduate students are touring Europe and the United States at the present time, appearing as soloists with symphony orchestras all the way from Chicago and New York to Paris and Vienna. The Curtis Institute has the famous Josef Hofmann as its director.

Another educational foundation that is planning to work largely through scholarships and fellowships is the Institute for Advanced Study, in Newark, N. J., recently founded by Louis Bamberger and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, with an initial endowment of \$5,000,000, and with Dr. Abraham Flexner, eminent authority on education, as its first director. It is to devote its labors exclusively to the

support of graduate students who are specializing in research in any field that "gives promise of some advancement in human knowledge."

Other foundations besides the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are laboring to banish the poverty and loss due to wars. Edward W. Bok's American Foundation gives awards in behalf of our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Church Peace Union seeks to promote international friendship through the churches. The purpose of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial, with headquarters at the University of Chicago, is to help Americans to a better understanding of other peoples. A like purpose animates the Spelman Fund, the Institute of International Education, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Kosciusko Foundation, the Carl Schurz Memorial, the Netherland-American Foundation, and the organization that has grown out of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, with Herbert Hoover still acting as its president. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the World Peace Foundation established by Edwin Ginn are working on similar lines.

That other Americans besides the millionaire philanthropists have become world-minded is indicated by the way in which the man in the street and the woman in the home are supporting the Near East Relief and the National Tuberculosis Association and contributing the \$15,000,000 or more which the American Red Cross uses annually in its emergency work at home and abroad. These organizations are of the same stuff as the endowed foundations. If we are selfish isolationists the proof of it must be sought elsewhere than on the map of our philanthropies.

Argentina: The Land and Its People

By WILLIAM L. SCHURZ

Former American Commercial Attaché at Buenos Aires

OF all the Latin-American countries affected by the recent epidemic of political overturns, the Argentine Republic is the one that stands out by reason of the superior progress made in the utilization of natural resources. To the outside world, Argentina is synonymous with the pampas, the vast plains which, stretching away to the west and south of Buenos Aires, without a pebble or knoll to break the expanse of black earth for hundreds of miles, are the source of most of the nation's wealth. And yet this is by no means the whole of the republic.

To the northeast of the pampas lies a rolling belt of rich lush lands between the two great rivers, the Paraná and the Uruguay. In the north the tropical region of the great forests stretches around in a wide arc from the enclave of Misiones, thrust up into Brazil, by Corrientes and the wilderness of the Chaco, to disappear among the foothills of the Andes in the Salta and Tucumán country. Along the eastern side of the Andes a long tier of provinces and territories extends from the Bolivian frontier to Tierra del Fuego. In the extreme north is a bleak plateau country, so inhospitable that the Territory of Los Andes supports less than 2,000 inhabitants. Far out to the eastward, from the high chains of San Juan, the last flanks of the Andes appear

as the hills of Cordoba to make a playground for the people of the pampas. In the central zone of the highland belt is a region centring on Mendoza, which bears a striking resemblance to the foothill country of the Sierra Nevada in California, and like that region is famed for its grapes. Mendoza is also the seat of a flourishing wine industry. Still further to the south the Andes fall to lower altitudes, and among their wooded valleys, which offer a road between Argentina and Chile, there lie beautiful glacial lakes, like Nahuel Huapi. The vast area of Patagonia reaches from the pampas down to the Straits of Magellan. It is a wind-swept land of low mountains and hills, where the rainfall is too light for agriculture and the natural vegetation is sparse and stunted. Farming is possible only where rivers from the Andes are utilized for irrigation. The principal industry is the raising of sheep, which are able to subsist on the scant pasturage and to weather the inclement Winters without damage.

Argentina is the heir, through various vicissitudes, of the old Viceroyalty of La Plata. Silver is suggested in its very name, although its wealth has come, not from precious metals, but from its exuberant soil, either in the form of wheat or corn or transformed into cattle and sheep. It advertises itself as the richest na-



ARGENTINA

tion per capita on earth. Its exports amount to nearly \$1,000,000,000 a year, and though the proceeds of its foreign trade are not divided so evenly among its 11,000,000 inhabitants, it is at the rate of \$900 a head for the population. An index to its remarkable economic position is the fact that it has more automobiles in proportion to population than any other country except the United States and the British dominions; about 60 per cent of all automobiles in South America are in Argentina. It also has over 40 per cent of the railway mileage of the continent, and its lines handle 60 per cent of the passenger traffic of South America.

Except for the similarity of crops, agriculture in the Argentine and in the United States has several points

of difference. In spite of an increasing number of small properties, Argentina is still a land of vast estates, of *estancias*, whose limits are measured by leagues. It is a patriarchal system, like that pictured in the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* of Blasco Ibáñez. However, the rude type of Madariaga "the Centaur," like that of the picturesque *gaucho* or horseman of the pampas, is passing from the Argentine scene. His successor is a great nabob of the soil, who brings the refinements and luxuries of the city to his country place, but who also probably maintains a mansion on the Avenida Alvear in the capital, and often a house at Biarritz or Paris, where his prodigal extravagances have become famous.

His country ranks among the first five nations of the earth in agriculture and stock-raising. Because most of the product of these industries finds its way abroad it is proportionally more important in the world trade in cereals and meats than its relative position as a producer of these raw materials would show. Thus, of a normal wheat crop of 300,000,000 bushels, about two-thirds is exported, in addition to large quantities of flour. Of a corn crop of about the same magnitude, 80 per cent is sent overseas. This explains the interest of the Argentine Government in foreign import tariffs on grain. The northern pampas contribute nearly 100,000,000 bushels of linseed a year to the paint and linoleum industries of the world. Two branches of agriculture whose output largely goes into domestic consumption are the sugar industry, which centres in the irrigated valleys of Tucumán, and the cotton-growing industry in the warm lands of the Chaco.

As a stock-raising country the Argentine has the advantages of a soil that yields an abundance of rich forage crops, especially alfalfa, and a propitious temperate climate. The republic now ranks third among the

countries of the world in the number of sheep and fourth in the number of cattle. Great care has been given to the improvement of breeds, and the long-horn cattle and short-wool sheep that formerly roamed the wide ranges of the pampas have given way to bulky shorthorns and Herefords and long-fleece Lincolns. The annual stock show in Buenos Aires is an occasion to delight the heart of the discriminating fancier of fine farm animals. Most of the fat steers of the pampas end their days in the vast *frigoríficos* or packing plants about Buenos Aires, where they are "sacrificed," as the natives express their taking-off, to supply chilled beef for the tables of Europe.

Industrial development in Argentina is a direct subsidiary of the two great basic industries, agriculture and stock-raising. For the most part, its manufacturing output consists of flour, meats, refined sugar, dairy products and leather. The growth of manufacturing has been hindered by the lack of such raw materials as iron and other metals and by the inaccessibility of its lumber supply. Another obstacle has been the lack of hydroelectric power. The mighty Iguazú Falls are situated too far from Buenos Aires to permit of the practicable transmission of current, and there are no appreciable sources of potential power nearer at hand. The national petroleum fields of Rivadavia are by no means sufficient for the needs of the country, so that its industries are forced to depend largely on power from imported coal.

Contrary to the rule in many Spanish-American republics, Spanish blood actually predominates in the population of Argentina, although for a long time the country has attracted a large and varied immigration from Europe. The most important element has been the Italian, which has given a special tone to Buenos Aires. Every language of Europe is spoken in this Babel of the pampas. Among the most numer-

ous foreign communities are the German and the British, including a large aggregation of "River Plate Irish" and separate colonies of Welshmen in Patagonia. Over this cosmopolitan folk the nation exerts a remarkable power of assimilation that promises well for the future racial and social integrity of the country. After a long stay even British-born immigrants proudly call themselves Argentinos.

Though the Argentine plains originally supported large numbers of warlike Indians, the aborigines were generally treated by the Spanish settlers with scant consideration. Those who did not succumb in this process formed a mixed breed with the Spaniards, still very evident in the interior provinces. In Corrientes miscegenation comprised the fine Guaraní people, who also formed the principal basis of the present Paraguayan stock to the north of the Paraná. In the wilderness of the Chaco there are Indians that would still be untouched by civilization but for the infusion of white blood. The small Indian population of the northern Andes highlands is closely akin to the Quichuas of Bolivia. In Patagonia there remain small numbers of the descendants of the mythical "big-footed" giants, for whom Magellan named that land. These tribes were not subjugated by the Argentine Government until 1884, when their lands first attracted the white man's attention as a field for sheep raising.

Of the 11,000,000 inhabitants of Argentina, over 30 per cent live in ten cities, and over 2,000,000 of these are found in Buenos Aires, the world's largest city south of the latitude of Philadelphia. For a predominantly agricultural country this large urban population is disproportionate to a well-balanced social system, and in the case of the capital represents an excessive "overhead" for the productive industry of the nation. Much of this disparity is due to the greatly superior living conditions in Buenos Aires and Rosario as compared with

the mode of life possible in the *campo* for any but the great *estancieros*. Also, as often in new lands, a heavy discrepancy in the ratio of men to women in the population is responsible for one of the outstanding social problems of the republic.

With the possible exception of Montevideo and Havana, no Latin-American capital so completely dominates the country as does Buenos Aires. Unless the mighty flood of the River Plate eventually silts up its precarious harbor the commercial supremacy of the great port can never be challenged by Rosario up the Paraná or by Bahía Blanca further down the coast. Much of its pre-eminent position has been created by the fine railway system radiating out across the pampas to bring in the grain to its elevators and the cattle to its *frigoríficos*. Its great newspapers, informing and molding public opinion, carry the news to the furthest limits of the republic. It dictates in politics and sets the tone in social life for the whole nation.

Vast sums have been spent to transform Buenos Aires into one of the show cities of the world. Architecturally it is another Paris, but it lacks the mellow gayety and spirit of Paris. It is a city of pleasure, but its pleasures are taken too soberly. Its people are much given to display and one sees evidences of luxury on every hand outside the poorer quarters of the city. But, above all it is a city of business, where men work hard for a living—harder, indeed, than in any other Latin-American city. There is a serious intentness of purpose about its people in their competition for the fruits of the pampas' labors. Here is a strong and virile race, tenacious of its rights in the world and assertive of a vigorous nationalism. Moreover, the ferment of its active mind is not limited to the lyric poetry whereby Latin-Americans usually express the vague surgings of the soul.

The recent overthrow of the Irigoyen government is representative

of the strong passions characteristic of Argentine politics. Though "personalism" or devotion to an individual leader is a constant factor in the situation, opinion is widely divided on two real issues. One is the old conflict between centralism and federalism, which has grown out of the attempts of Buenos Aires to usurp the power left to the provinces under the federal system. The struggle goes back to the beginning of the republic; during the régime of the dictator Rosas it split the nation into two armed camps. Of late years the central government has tried to exert its authority over the provinces by means of "intervention," whereby the President may displace a recalcitrant provincial government by a federal "interventor" or agent, who is directly responsible to Buenos Aires. The abuse of this system was one of the sources of the widespread discontent which led to the coup d'état of 1930.

The other definite issue in Argentine politics is that between conservatism and radicalism. The propertied classes, especially those representative of the great landed interests, have sought to maintain their original ascendancy in the government against the challenge of the new social forces that have arisen during the past few decades. These new forces express the political aspirations not only of the numerous class of middle-class salaried workers but also of the large and highly organized laboring population of the cities. Particularly in Buenos Aires and Rosario an assertive proletariat is easily inflamed by agitators of communistic inspiration. In 1919 the laxness of the government led these elements to attempt a veritable social revolution which was only put down with much bloodshed. Since then the increased vigilance of the authorities has prevented the renewal of open outbreaks by the radicals, but occasional outrages have shown the continued existence of a dangerous undercurrent of discontent.

The international position of Argen-

tina by no means reflects its superior economic situation among Latin-American nations. It has never held the place of leader or spokesman among its sister republics, and in fact has rather played a lone hand in the politics of Spanish America, particularly during the Irigoyen régime. However, circumstances as much as any deliberate design have given a certain direction to its relations with some of its neighbors. For example, its control of the only practicable outlet for that country is slowly making Paraguay an economic province of the Argentine. The two railway lines thrust up toward Bolivia will inevitably increase Argentine influence in that country, which is too weak in every sense to resist the peaceful attraction of her powerful and progressive neighbor. Little Uruguay, intensely jealous of its nationality, would finally seem secure in her position as a buffer be-

tween Argentina and Brazil. As for these two great nations, while there is no tangible source of discord between them, each is suspicious of the good intentions of the other. On the other hand, as against the national incompatibility of the Spanish and Portuguese temperaments, an increasing commercial interchange is contributing to bring them closer together. Argentina is an excellent customer for the coffee, yerba mate and lumber and fruits of Brazil. While Chile was silently resentful for a time of the arbitration decree that gave Patagonia to the Argentine and shut her up in the narrow strip between the Andes and the Pacific, there exists no serious source of friction between the two nations, whose desire for friendship is sealed by the famous statue of the Christ of the Andes, set up on the mountain frontier that separates the two neighbors.

A Projected Federation of the Balkans

By J. M. SCAMMELL

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THE First Balkan Conference met at Athens from Oct. 5 to Oct. 12, 1930. It succeeded even to the point of urging a future union of Balkan States, and the question is now becoming one of practical politics. Since the conference a treaty of mutual friendship, neutrality and limitation of armament between Turkey and Greece has been signed, and it is expected that Bulgaria will join this alliance. A dispatch

from Geneva, dated Nov. 29, 1930, stated that President Kemal "is driving with all his energy toward the formation of this triple entente as another advance toward a Balkan agreement," which may include all the Balkan States and even Hungary. Premier Venizelos of Greece, interviewed in Vienna on Jan. 5, 1931, declared himself a supporter of a Balkan union, even if it could not be brought about in the near future.

The Balkans have long been notorious for racial animosities and border feuds. From prehistoric times, when the lake dwellers of Asia Minor moved into Europe, the region has been one of mixed races. Invasions, commerce, slavery, transportations, conscription, garrisoning and campaigning have kept up a constant intermingling of peoples. More than 3,000 years elapsed between the driving of the modern Greeks out of Asia Minor and the first authentic Greek invasion, which was not the siege of Troy by the Argives under Agamemnon, but the earlier capture of that city by the hero Heracles. The intervening centuries merely added to the record of conflict in the Balkans and Asia Minor. In our own day we have seen the revolution in Turkey in 1909 followed by the First Balkan War in 1912, when Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro attacked Turkey, and then a year later the Second Balkan War, which found Bulgaria attacked by Serbia, Greece, Turkey and Rumania, and after this Balkan intrigues culminating in a political assassination and forming the prologue to the World War. As if this were not enough, the treaties of peace made at the end of the World War in 1920-22, led to a bloody and bitter war between Turkey and Greece.

When Greece invited Bulgaria, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Albania to send representative citizens to a conference at Athens on Oct. 5, 1930, to discuss cooperation among the Balkan nations, wiseacres were justified in their doubt that the invitations would ever be accepted because of the political intrigues involving each of the States. Nevertheless, all the Balkan States and Turkey accepted the invitation; and thirty Greeks, thirty Rumanians, eleven Bulgarians, ten Albanians, ten Turks and seven Yugoslavs met, worked in harmony and separated full of enthusiasm. In the light of the initial difficulties, the achievements of the First Balkan Conference are remarkable. A Bulgarian spokesman early in the conference

introduced the delicate subject of racial minorities and said: "Let us contribute to settle the questions which divide us, and there will remain only the questions which unite us and which thereafter will unite us more and more." So tactfully was this subject handled that it was a Bulgarian who later remarked: "Almost every international conference comes together with enthusiasm and separates in a spirit of dissatisfaction. Here it is the other way around, especially with us Bulgarians."

One of the most important resolutions passed was that which urged amicable exchanges of views by Foreign Ministers, and the adoption of a Balkan pact to outlaw war among the member States, to settle all differences by pacific means and to afford mutual aid in war against non-Balkan States. A committee was formed to prepare a draft treaty, to study all difficulties between Balkan States and to report at the next conference. The closing exercises of the First Balkan Conference took place on Oct. 15, 1930, in the ancient theatre at Delphi where the Amphictyonic Council of ancient Greece used to meet. There the members waved olive branches and raised a new flag—that of the Balkan Union. The conference in its closing address to the Balkan peoples said: "Nothing could have been more charmingly picturesque nor more suggestive historically than this last meeting amid the decayed glories of Delphi, where many a delegate saw in the conference an attempted renewal of something like the old Amphictyonic League—the first League of Nations that ever accomplished much. We are fraternal peoples, and we can resolve by reciprocal understanding and pacific means the differences which divide us. * * * We believe that only by our union shall we ever improve our lot."

Besides the negotiations to include Bulgaria as a third party to the Graeco-Turkish treaty, proposals have been made for a customs union be-

tween Rumania and Yugoslavia, and for a future customs union of all the Balkan States and Turkey, as a step toward political federation.

As the Balkan Conference now has a permanent organization patterned after that of the League of Nations, its influence does not cease with the closing of the annual meeting. The members are charged with cooperating with their national societies which have similar aims and with their governments. Institutes of Balkan studies at Belgrade, Istanbul and Paris have been proposed. Rumania is said to be planning a school for Greek studies at Athens. Balkan educators are turning to ancient Greece for inspiration. The First Balkan Conference was more than a trial balloon; it was a demonstration that forces have been released whose existence had not generally been suspected.

If the obstacles to union are great, so are the incentives. Military experts affirm that a flexible organization of land, sea and air forces, based upon the Marmora region and disposing of the resources of the Balkan peninsula and Anatolia, can develop one of the most powerful defenses in the world. The Straits region has the qualifications of a great naval base; its local defense rests upon the two sets of peninsulas of Gallipoli and the Troad and of Ismid and Chatalja. These control the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Within the Marmora basin lies the Gulf of Ismid whose channel can be defended by guns, nets and mines. Here are the centre of population and of skilled workers and the chief market of two great peninsulas. Here, too, where the great land and air artery between Asia and Europe crosses one of the most important sea routes in the world, is an ideal location for a strategic reserve. Its military significance has been appreciated by the strategists of all times. Darius, Xerxes, Themistocles, Lysander, Philip and Alexander sought it for a base; Lysimachus was about to consolidate around it an empire from the Balkans

to the Taurus when he died; Antiochus the Great and Mithridates recognized its value and sought to control it. It is hinted that Caesar met his death because he planned to remove the capital thither from Rome. The soldier emperors Trajan and Hadrian foreshadowed this final removal by Constantine. A thousand years after Western Europe began to fall into anarchy, the Byzantine Empire based upon this region used it as a centre from which to launch its assaults by land and sea; and the Janissaries of the conquering Ottomans were but the successors of the Varangian Guards of the Greeks.

Rumania flanks any advance by the Black Sea gap or from Central Europe. Bulgaria protects Rumania's right flank and Yugoslavia her left, while any expeditionary force from the Sea of Marmora supported by a strong navy can flank approaches from the north either through the Balkans or Asia Minor. It was by this means that Heraclius saved the Byzantine Empire, and his successors preserved it against the Bulgarians and Russians. No Admiral would welcome the task of taking a fleet through the Aegean in this day of lurking submarines and watchful planes. Strategically a union or alliance of the Balkans and Turkey presents a formidable military defense.

The underlying basis for any Balkan solidarity is geographical as well as strategic. The individual States of the Balkans, including Turkey, have neither natural centres, good natural communications nor strong natural frontiers; only when the region which they occupy is treated as a whole does it become cohesive. The Balkan peninsula is divided from that of Anatolia only on the map; in reality, these two great peninsulas form the two ends of a partly ruined bridge connecting Asia with Europe, the central arch of which is still partly complete at the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and of which a litter appears in the islands of the Aegean. The cliffs of Gallipoli and of the Troad facing one another across

the Dardanelles show the same stratification, and the channel of the Bosphorus runs through a formation common to both sides. The Rhodope Mountains, the dominant Balkan range, is of the same formation as the central plateau of Asia Minor. Geographically, in climate, flora, fauna and in population, both shores of the Aegean and Marmora are Mediterranean, while the steppes of Thrace are as Asiatic as those of Anatolia.

Different races have always occupied the coast and the interior. Through the prehistoric mists an Aegean people is dimly seen settled on the Ionian coast and venturing into the Black Sea. The Car-Leleges preceded the Greeks who seem to have absorbed them. The Hittites in the interior were followed by the Phrygians, Lydians and Persians. The destruction of Smyrna in 1922 has its counterpart in a similar destruction by the Lydians and in that of Miletus by the Persians. The Anatolian races die out along the coast, and the Mediterranean peoples do not thrive in the interior. Deportations and massacres are puny forces compared with natural selection. Sir William Ramsay noted a generation ago that the Greeks were supplanting the Turks along the coast, and he remarked that "the Turks as soldiers and the Greeks as traders will, united, make a happier country than either race could by itself." This was true of their predecessors in the Byzantine Empire. Venizelos in his address to the Balkan Conference remarked that

racial minorities would form an element of strength, not of weakness, in a united Balkan State. So inextricably intermingled are the racial groups that the only solution of the problem lies in unity.

The Balkan region and Asia Minor have always been the home of heresies. As long as religious toleration was practiced in the Byzantine Empire it remained strong, and racial and religious minorities tended to disappear. Between 300 and 150 B. C. Jews settled in great numbers in Asia Minor; Antiochus the Great brought in at one time 2,000 families, which with a later addition became a numerous, privileged and influential group. As these Jews prospered, they tended to intermarry and to disappear as a separate racial and religious entity, but when persecuted by the Orthodox Greek Church, they joined with Armenian and other heterodox elements in welcoming the then tolerant Turks. Religious intolerance weakened and finally destroyed the Byzantine Empire; religious fanaticism and national animosities arose in and overthrew the Ottoman Empire. Two powerful empires have endured in this region for over 1,500 years based upon mixed races and different creeds, supported by common economic interests and the common defense of a great natural and strategic region. In this era of excellent communications it can be done again. What is needed is a common will to unite; the first step has been taken by the First Balkan Conference.

Social Insurance in America

By JOHN B. ANDREWS

Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation

ALMOST all industrial countries now recognize the need of systematically safeguarding working people against the major risks of modern industry. The principle of insurance—the thin-spreading of individual losses over the members of a large group—has been applied by law to render the wage-earner's life a little less precarious in a civilization which makes unemployment a constant menace, sickness a financial debacle and old age an early and all-too-frequent calamity.

It is estimated that already there are in the world about 48,000,000 workers covered by public unemployment insurance. Compulsory accident insurance and workmen's sickness insurance have been even more widely adopted. Most countries also make similar legislative provision against invalidity and old age.

In the United States, owing in part to our later industrial development, the social insurance movement was begun more recently than in other countries; but once started, it has progressed no less rapidly. Today America is in the midst of this world-wide movement. Compulsory workmen's accident insurance has been enacted in all but four States. Mothers' pension legislation is almost universal and State after State is adopting old-age pensions. Proposals for unemployment insurance, now widely regarded as an immediately desirable step to encourage stabilization as well as to provide against pauperization, are being prepared for introduction with

strong support in many of our Legislatures. Then, too, the increasing public concern over the mounting costs of medical care is causing a growing number of people to look to sickness insurance as a necessary and most reasonable solution.

Social insurance legislation was inaugurated in the United States twenty years ago, when the first compulsory accident compensation laws were enacted. Up to that time, an injured worker or his surviving dependents had the sole recourse at law of suing the employer for damages. He could win only when he could prove the employer had been negligent. When an injured wage-earner could not get damages, which happened in the vast majority of cases, he and his family were often thrown upon charity. Even if successful in his suit, he was obliged to split his award with his lawyer. Meanwhile, during months, perhaps years, of time-consuming litigation his family was left dependent.

State after State, accordingly, abolished this antiquated and inadequate system of employers' liability and substituted workmen's compensation to provide the prompt and certain payment of a fixed percentage of wages. At the present time upward of 17,000,000 workers are included within the scope of the existing fifty-one American workmen's compensation acts. These laws are paying to the families of disabled or killed workers something like \$150,000,000 a year.

Despite some glaring inequalities, steady progress has been made

throughout the years in providing nearly adequate benefits, more efficient administration, and more complete medical attendance, which are so essential if an injured man is to return to his job as quickly and with as little disability as possible.

When a worker receives a permanently crippling injury, he is usually unable to continue in the work at which he was formerly employed. The pitiful spectacle of a one-armed man, once an efficient workman, compelled to sell lead pencils on the street corner to keep body and soul together, because he was not fitted for a new occupation, was common before the work of vocational rehabilitation began. Today, all but four States—Delaware, Kansas, Vermont and Washington—are cooperating with the Federal Government in retraining industrial cripples. Already nearly 39,000 disabled persons have been rehabilitated, many of them earning more than before they were injured. At the close of the 1929 fiscal year, 16,000 crippled workers were in process of rehabilitation.

Although substantial progress has thus been made in the field of industrial accident insurance and its new phase of rehabilitation, much remains to be done. Four States, all in the South—Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi and South Carolina—have thus far failed to adopt the compensation principle, owing in large measure to the opposition of certain employing interests as well as the ambulance-chasing lawyers. Moreover, seamen and railroad workers in interstate commerce are likewise without this protection.

It was predicted that if society were made to pay the cost of insuring wage earners against contingencies which cause financial dependency, those evils would be rapidly reduced. There has, accordingly, been an organized effort to reduce compensable accidents. Workmen's compensation, it is generally agreed, has been the greatest single stimulus to this preventive movement. The rapid introduction of

new machinery and changing processes in industry and the development of new employments have, however, created many new hazards. Although the constant economic pressure of accident compensation has held down the accident rate below what it otherwise would have been, accidents have, during the past twenty years, continued to increase. The attention of those directly concerned with the cost of accident compensation is therefore being concentrated on this continuing human waste in an effort to make accident prevention more effective.

Great progress has also been made since 1911 in the establishment of mothers' pensions, whereby protection is extended to widows and orphans left helpless by the premature death of husband or father. The only States without this legislation are again four in the South—Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and New Mexico. It is estimated that approximately 200,000 children at this moment enjoy the benefit of these laws, which now provide yearly about \$30,000,000 in family relief.

The logical extension of this pension principle, in the form of assistance to aged dependents, had its inception in 1915, when Alaska adopted the first old-age pension act. The shameful neglect of our aged poor, who, after years of useful service, were often compelled to accept the humiliating experience of spending the rest of their days in a poorhouse, has led to the increasingly widespread demand for old-age pensions, which are designed to keep families together in decent and familiar surroundings. By 1929 ten States—Montana and Nevada (in 1923), Wisconsin (1925), Kentucky (1926), Colorado and Maryland (1927), California, Minnesota, Utah and Wyoming (1929)—and Alaska had already enacted universal old-age pension systems, and in 1930 New York and Massachusetts made similar provision for benefits for their aged dependents.

The Federal Government under the

retirement act of 1920 is leading the way to adequate provision for public employes who are no longer able to support themselves because of old age. There were already 16,500 annuities from the civilian service on the pension roll during the last fiscal year with disbursements on account of annuities amounting to nearly \$11,000,000 for that one year. Seven States have also provided retirement systems for State employes. And there are, of course, literally hundreds of similar plans for municipal employes; police and firemen's pension systems are found in almost every city.

During the past twenty years, in dealing with these particular problems of accident and old age and premature death, there has indeed been progress. But the problems which social insurance is designed to meet have also grown prodigiously. The industrialization of American society and the rapid mechanization of industry have exposed an increasing proportion of the people to the contingencies of a wage-earner's life. The rise of new industries and the decline of old, the speeding up of production and the changing habits of consumption, have each added to these risks. All this emphasizes the present urgent need for a comprehensive and adequate system of social insurance.

The growing appreciation of the problems for which social insurance is being developed has led to the establishment of many voluntary benefit funds and the extension of medical and hospital service for industrial employes. Trade unions are also making some provision for benefits to their members, sixty-one unions reporting nearly \$11,000,000 paid out in the fiscal year 1928, chiefly for premature death and old age. Significant likewise is the rapid growth in group insurance, from \$13,000,000 of insurance in force in 1912 to \$5,600,000,000 in 1928.

For large sections of our people the cost of adequate medical care cannot be met without insurance against

sickness. In 1919 the campaign for a universal system of workmen's health insurance had been advanced to a point where a well-considered bill was passed by the New York State Senate. That promising movement was temporarily checked by disingenuous appeals to prejudice. Upon those representatives of the private insurance companies who joined with a certain element in the medical profession—in a period of post-war hysteria—and denounced health insurance as "Made in Germany," rests the responsibility for blocking social progress in meeting adequately our sickness problem.

The problem of involuntary unemployment demands not only serious consideration but immediate action. Three times within fifteen years bread lines have stretched themselves out in this wealthiest country in the world. Again and again national and local conferences have been held to discuss unemployment, the greatest blot on our capitalist system. And always liberals and conservatives have counseled moderation, holding out the promise that "employers on their own initiative" would stabilize employment and that the government would help by providing free information about the work opportunities and by the advance planning of public works.

What progress in this important field has actually been made during these years of promises? A few employers have, on their own initiative, seriously attempted to stabilize employment and set up established funds for out-of-work benefits; the successful examples are so few that they continue year after year to stand out conspicuously as well-worn figures for purposes of classical illustration. A few public employment offices have likewise demonstrated the possibility of serving the community impartially and efficiently. But the only method which practical experience has demonstrated will supply sufficient funds for the necessary country-wide system is opposed by the organized manufacturers.

If further practical demonstration were needed of the imperative necessity of advance planning of public works—if the government is to act quickly and effectively in time of private business failure to furnish employment—it came during the nervous months immediately following the stock market crash of October, 1929. But in spite of the signs of approaching unemployment that began to appear, even then the program for public works was slow in being put into operation.

Meanwhile, sober citizens, deeply concerned about the future welfare of our country, are saying earnestly to one another: Something must be done about unemployment; we simply cannot continue to have millions of industrious people periodically thrown upon the street to bear unaided the crushing burdens of involuntary unemployment. People of discernment now realize that when our communities throughout the country set aside millions of dollars for unemployment relief—and private charities supplement it with bread tickets and soup kitchens—this constitutes an American dole system. It is a dole pure and simple, and it is not helping to meet the unemployment problem in a constructive way.

Just as the burden of accidents has

been shifted from the individual sufferer and the charities to the industry which failed to provide safe working conditions, so the burden due to industry's failure to provide regular employment should be borne by a similar system of insurance. The necessity for providing this security for the worker will stimulate more continuous consideration of methods of stabilizing employment, just as accident compensation has furnished a constant stimulus to safety work. Legislation is necessary to make sure that the industries act with reasonable promptness. This does not mean that any European system need be copied; on the contrary we have in successful American experience with accident compensation a promising model for action here.

The movement for social insurance in the United States is gaining momentum. The causes of the poverty which is straining public and private charity cannot be ignored. Destitution due to accident, old age, illness and unemployment and its demoralizing effects are recognized as constituting a public problem of major importance. America is turning to social insurance legislation as the most intelligent method of facing these economic evils which burden our present social system.

Immigration Problems on the Pacific Coast

I

By A. S. WHITELEY

THE immigration of Orientals to the Western seaboard of Canada has much the same history as the larger movement to the Pacific Coast of the United States. Attempts to bar the undesired immigrants by discriminatory legislation and unconstitutional measures are to be found in the legislative annals of both countries. Fear of Oriental domination remains to this day a potent factor in the lives of the white people of British Columbia. When a population of 600,000 includes 40,000 members of an alien race, antagonism against the invaders is easily aroused, especially when the competition of the Oriental is concentrated in a few lines of economic activity.

The Chinese were the first of the Oriental peoples to come to British Columbia in appreciable numbers. The Cariboo gold rush in the 1860s attracted all types of immigrants and a few thousand Chinese were among the gold-seekers. The construction of the transcontinental railway from 1881 to 1885 created a serious shortage of labor, and the Western contractors met the difficulty by bringing contract Chinese laborers to British Columbia. In 1884 it was estimated that there were more than 9,000 Chinese laborers in the Province, 3,500 of them being engaged in railway construction. This rapid growth aroused the opposition of the white inhabitants and a

royal commission was appointed, which, however, was content to recommend a head tax of \$50. But Chinese immigration continued to increase and the protests of the white people became more vehement, with the result that the head tax, first imposed in 1885, was raised to \$100 in 1901 and \$500 in 1904. For two decades each session of the provincial legislature passed a resolution unanimously asking the Dominion Government for further restriction. Finally this agitation bore fruit. In 1923 the Dominion Parliament passed the Chinese immigration act, which restricts the immigration of Chinese to government representatives, merchants and students. Thus for all practical purposes the immigration of Chinese to Canada is now prohibited.

Japanese immigration did not assume serious proportions until 1906-7, but the influx of more than 7,000 Japanese in that year quickly aroused the fear of the white inhabitants, lest an overwhelming influx of Orientals would follow the doubling of the number of immigrants within such a short period. The immigration of Japanese in 1907-8 began with the arrival of some immigrant vessels at the Hawaiian Islands. These ships were chartered by Japanese associations in Hawaii and soon thousands of Japanese were landed in Vancouver. The protests of both Canadian and Japa-

nese officials soon stopped the flood, but the people of British Columbia demanded protection against another such inundation. The Canadian Government sent a representative to Japan, and the two countries concluded a "gentleman's agreement" in 1908, under which the Japanese Government was to restrict the immigration of its nationals to (probably) less than 500 a year. The white inhabitants, however, continued to press for greater restriction, and succeeded in 1928 in securing a modification of the agreement. The number of Japanese immigrants was henceforth not to exceed 150 a year, and the immigrants must secure visas from the Canadian office in Japan.

Although the Oriental population forms only 7 per cent of the total population of British Columbia, these immigrants offer very serious competition to white workers in some industries. The following table shows the part played by Oriental labor in eleven occupations and industries in 1921. The classification "Asiatics" includes 1,500 East Indians, but not more than 800 Orientals who were born in Canada:

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MALE POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OVER

	All Inhabitants	Asiatics	Per Cent Asiatics
Total	241,063	28,494	11.8
Occupied	194,214	26,094	13.4
Industry—			
Fishing	4,661	2,395	51.3
Domestic and personal service	11,045	4,810	43.5
Lumber mills	12,680	5,127	40.5
Steam railways (section men and laborers)	4,089	1,079	26.3
Pulp and paper mills	1,769	439	24.8
Retail merchants..	7,372	1,258	17.0
Mining	9,374	1,074	11.4
Agriculture	34,388	3,793	11.0
Logging	12,633	1,197	9.4

It is the concentration of Orientals in a few occupations that has created most of the antagonism to their employment and caused the serious conditions now existing. But, of course, the very reason for their employment restricts the range of their occupations.

Most of the efforts to restrict the employment of Oriental labor in British Columbia have proved unsuccessful. When the Japanese had secured a dominant position in salmon fishing the Dominion Government made a strong effort to force their withdrawal from this industry by restricting the number of licenses granted to Japanese. As a result, they had but 912 of 4,886 licenses in 1927, compared with 1,989 out of 3,887 in 1922. This reduction, however, is more apparent than real, because the Japanese continue to work in many branches of the fishing industry for which no licenses are required.

It would be difficult to make any great reduction in the number of Oriental workers. As soon as they are restricted in one field they tend to increase in another. On the other hand, there is little danger of the Orientals, limited as they are in number, forcing any large-scale displacement of white workers. Except in a few congenial activities, such as the Japanese in fishing and the Chinese in market gardening, the proportion of Oriental workers is bound to grow smaller. This tendency is shown in the following figures, as reported to the British Columbia Department of Labor:

MALE EMPLOYEES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

	Total	Chinese	Japanese
1918.....	45,381	5,928	2,754
1919.....	46,648	5,437	2,449
1928.....	105,937	5,901	3,758
1929.....	112,131	6,152	4,772

It will be seen that during the past decade the number of Chinese employees has remained practically constant, while the number of Japanese has increased about 75 per cent. Nevertheless the proportion of Oriental workers has declined sharply. With Chinese immigration at an end and Japanese reduced to a small number, it seems safe to predict a further decrease in the proportion of Oriental workers. But the competition of these immigrants will doubtless remain severe for some years in those occupations which demand cheap labor.

Another fear of the white inhabitants of British Columbia is the potential competition of the children of these immigrants, especially of the Japanese, with their large proportion of females. In the case of the Chinese, the head tax served to bar the migration of females. As a result, the sex ratio of the Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia stood thus in 1921:

ORIENTAL IMMIGRANT POPULATION			
	Chinese Japanese		
Males	20,728	7,743	
Females	795	3,191	

ORIENTAL NATIVE POPULATION			
	Chinese Japanese		
To 9 years.....	1,342	3,518	
10-20 years	587	530	
21 and over.....	204	69	

There is little possibility of the Chinese forming any considerable proportion of the future population of British Columbia. Their natural increase is practically nil. But Canadian-born Japanese are increasing quite rapidly, as the above figures show. For the past fifteen years two-thirds of the immigrants from Japan have been females, and this proportion is still maintained.

The Legislature of British Columbia has stated that the Orientals are "multiplying each year to an alarming extent," while a Canadian journalist places the Japanese birthrate at four times that of the whites and sees the gradual disappearance of the whites throughout large areas of the Province. This fear of racial submergence is not warranted by the present rate of Japanese increase. The use of crude birthrate statistics gives rise to many

errors. The bulk of the Oriental population is in the reproductive period of life and the number of births per 1,000 of this group is therefore much higher than for the white population, a large proportion of whom are children and persons past the reproductive period. If a comparison were made of the number of births among the Japanese and whites by age groups for the married women a much smaller difference in birthrates would be found. It is very probable that the fecundity of the Japanese is no greater than of any other non-English-speaking immigrant group. In short, while there is little likelihood of the Japanese dominating the Province the rate of births is very likely to increase for some years and then drop. The history of the Japanese in California bears out this prediction. In a few years the number of immigrants will scarcely suffice to replace those who have passed their reproductive period.

The next decade should cover the last stage in the difficult relations between white and Oriental in British Columbia. The white population faces a continued growth of Orientals, as evidenced in the following trend in school enrolment:

JAPANESE PUPILS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS			
1923.....	1,422	1927.....	2,915
1924.....	1,725	1928.....	3,273
1925.....	2,414	1929.....	3,674
1926.....	2,477	1930.....	4,014

Eventually, however, the Oriental should be reduced to about the same proportion as now exists on the Pacific Coast of the United States, and cease to be a cause of trouble.

II

By REGINALD BELL

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THE widening of a California highway recently necessitated tearing down an ancient wooden fence, on which, in black letters still plainly decipherable after over fifty

years of California suns and rains, was found a political slogan of the late 1870s—"The Chinese Must Go. O'Donnell for Governor." This was not a sporadic slogan of that

year's campaign. Continuous agitation flamed against the Chinese in California from 1850 till 1882, when the Federal Government barred all further Chinese labor immigration. The high point was the hanging of twenty-two Chinese in a race riot in Los Angeles in 1868. With the passage of the immigration law in the '80s, however, continuous activity against the Chinese ceased. But a painful inheritance was left for the next colored immigrants.

These were the Japanese, coming in increasing numbers through the 1890s and early 1900s. At no time did their number reach 4 per cent of the population of California, even in the years of greatest immigration. At the highest point there were far fewer than 100,000 Japanese immigrants in the United States. Even now there are not many more than 140,000, over half of whom were born and educated in America. Nevertheless, the Japanese have raised bitter political issues. Race prejudice and economic fear on the part of skilled and unskilled labor, small acreage farmers and realty associations, as well as on the part of certain newspapers and political leaders, led to increasingly severe discriminatory legislation. First came the "gentleman's agreement" of 1907, barring all Japanese labor immigration; next, State anti-alien land laws, increasing in comprehensiveness from 1913 to 1921; then the "picture bride" agitation with its bogey of an overwhelming Japanese population that would be born in the United States, followed by the voluntary action by the Japanese Government in 1920 in denying passports to further "picture brides"; finally came the clause in the national immigration act of 1924 which barred "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from coming into this country.

The question of Japanese immigration has been reopened by Representative Johnson's proposal to amend the exclusion clauses of the immigration act of 1924 so as to exempt Jap-

anese subjects from their operation, and substitute a Japanese quota. Under the national origins clause the number of immigrants to be admitted in any one year from any one country bears the same relation to 150,000 (the total immigration to be admitted) that the number of United States residents who trace their origin to that country bears to the total population of the United States. For example, there are approximately in the United States 140,000 Japanese immigrants and their children—some-what more than a thousandth part of the population. The number of Japanese admitted under the quota would then be somewhat more than a thousandth part of the immigration admitted in any one year. The actual figure might run as high as 175 in any one year. Likewise, a Chinese quota, based on the less than 60,000 residents in the United States of Chinese ancestry, would run under 75. One hundred might be allowed to enter on a nominal quota, as is done with certain of the smaller countries now. In neither case, however, would the "menace of Oriental immigration" startle the imagination.

What forces and arguments lie behind the reopening of the question six years after a supposed *finis* was written to it? First, Japan has never regarded the issue as closed. Her position may be summed up in three statements. First, a memorandum handed by the Japanese Government to our State Department said:

To Japan the question is not one of expediency but of principle. To her the mere fact that a few hundred or thousands of her nationals will or will not be admitted to the dominions of other countries is immaterial so long as no question of national susceptibilities is involved. The important question is whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations. In other words, the Japanese Government asks of the United States Government simply that proper consideration ordinarily given by one nation to the self-respect of another, which, after all, forms the

basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilized world.

In 1925, Viscount Shibusawa, referring to the exclusion law, made this statement:

It is not a closed incident * * * We object—not because it shuts out our immigration but because it derogates us to a position separate from and inferior to that of the other nations of the civilized world.

Finally, former Ambassador Hanihara, whose unfortunately phrased letter to the State Department aroused so much comment in 1924, broke his long silence in the Spring of 1930 to declare:

It is not so much a question as to whether one nation should or should not exercise its sovereign rights in regulating matters relating to its domestic affairs, as it is often represented to be. More precisely, it is a question as to whether one people should treat another people sympathetically or unsympathetically, fairly or unfairly * * * In that incident the Ambassador of a friendly power was gratuitously accused of the wanton act of using a "veiled threat" against that very country. Naturally the Japanese Government and people deeply resented this, and that resentment is felt now as it was then. * * * Nor will it ever die out so long as the wound inflicted remains unhealed.

American foreign trade has suffered, and seemingly continues to suffer, from the resentment aroused in Japan. At a conference of the National Foreign Trade Convention in Los Angeles, James J. Donovan of Washington said:

It is claimed that this feeling [of resentment among the Japanese against the exclusion act] no longer exists. It is more intense than ever, but is not expressed in public demonstrations. More effectively it is expressed in trade. We trade most from Canada, next from Japan, then the United Kingdom, and finally Germany. We sell most to Canada, then the United Kingdom, next Germany, finally Japan. Our purchases are increasing in all these countries except the United Kingdom, and sales are diminishing in Germany and Japan.

In 1929 soft-wood lumber trade from the Pacific Northwest to Japan fell off \$44,000,000. Some of this was due to

curtailment in all purchases by Japan, some to the new Japanese tariff favoring Russia, and some to resentment. This lumber trade is with Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. We have accurate figures through the lumber associations. Washington's loss was 26 per cent of its Japan trade in one year, equal to steady work for 10,000 men every day in the year. British Columbia lost 13 per cent.

Wallace McK. Alexander, former president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, attributed the difference between the decrease in Washington's and British Columbia's trade to "resentment," since lumber quotations from both areas have been practically the same. He believed that one of the elements in the enactment of the new Japanese tariff favoring Russia might perhaps have been this very resentment. Mr. Alexander continued: "Japan is not foolish enough to bite off her nose to spite her face, but there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that when an occasion arises where Japan can buy from another country as cheaply as she can from the United States the Japanese business men will throw their trade to outside parties."

The issue is not whether we admit more Japanese than we do now under the immigration act of 1924, but whether, excluding them for all practical purposes, we shall do it in the way we have done. The Japanese do not resent our keeping them out; they resent the manner in which we do it.

The discussion of Representative Johnson's proposal may revive some of the arguments that have been used in the last seventy-five years—the phenomenal success of the Japanese as farmers and the economic menace generated by that fear; the bogey of a Japanese-American population on the Pacific Coast as a result of the high fecundity of the Japanese mothers, and, of course, the cry of non-assimilability, a cry very potent in the early days of the pseudo-sociological ideas immediately before, during and after the war. The California joint immigration committee, successor to the

defunct Oriental Exclusion League, has already contended that the quota plan was considered and rejected by Congress in 1924.

The California anti-Orientalists long ago learned to further their ends by influencing national action. When the Burlingame treaty with China in 1868 threatened to continue the immigration of unwanted Chinese laborers into the State, they arranged to send a special negotiating committee to China, and secured the passage of the 1882 immigration act which provided that the immigration of skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers into the United States be suspended for ten years. This act was renewed periodically and regularly so as to make the suspension permanent. In 1907 the anti-Orientalists defied President Roosevelt when he attempted to interfere in the ruling which affected Japanese attendance in the schools of San Francisco. They convinced him that the difficulty was really one of immigration and secured the negotiation of the "gentlemen's agreement" by which the Japanese Government itself agreed to prevent the emigration of laborers.

Hiding behind the naturalization law which makes Japanese and Chinese ineligible to American citizenship, successive laws were passed, in California particularly, to prevent "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from owning or leasing land or working it on croppers' contracts. Finally, there was secured the inclusion in the 1924 immigration act of the clause barring all immigration of those ineligible to citizenship, including Chinese, Japanese and East Indians.

The facts, however, tend to disprove the arguments of the anti-Orientalists. The Japanese population of California has been increasing at a diminishing rate since 1890; the natural increase—that is, the excess of births over deaths—has been steadily decreasing since 1921. Moreover, the excessively high birth rate statistics do not take into account that the Japanese have been the youngest age group

in the State and that a very large number of women of marriageable age have come here since 1907.

The official figures of the California State Bureau of Vital Statistics show that in 1922 the average issue per Japanese mother was 2.83, while the average issue per white mother was 2.63. Like most immigrant family groups, few Japanese marriages are childless. Although the absolute increase of the Japanese population through births has been greater than would be found in a cross-section of the white population of the State, as the first generation of Japanese grows older, the birth rate decreases both absolutely and relatively. The second generation of American born and educated Japanese children will undoubtedly follow other second generation groups in adopting American standards, with their inevitable effect upon the size of the family.

The Japanese immigrant was particularly well equipped by temperament and physique to succeed in certain types of farming which required squatting and hand cultivation—for example, strawberry-raising and other ground fruit cultivation. He was willing to work longer hours at harder labor than the majority of his white competitors; his wife helped him in the fields. The Japanese came to be feared for attributes that were thought admirable in our own farmers of earlier generations. Unfortunately for the anti-Orientalists, the Japanese, in common with others of the second generation, seem to reach out toward "higher" things than farming. In California high schools a slightly larger percentage of Japanese boys indicated a preference for farming than a similar white group, but the survey also showed a widespread range of interests that was typically American. "White-collar" occupations, as well as mechanical semi-professions, attract them. This is natural, for they are products not only of their own homes but of American schools.

At bottom, their problem—and our

problem in dealing with them—is a psychological one. For the Japanese, as for the Chinese and the Negro, color has become the badge of caste. Because of his caste he is regarded as an inferior. Therefore, he is, by virtue of his color, inferior. This generalization leads, of course, to absurdity in considering any racial group.

The practical dimensions of the problem, aggravated by our stupid handling of the racial phases of our immigration, already loom large, as evidenced by the international sensitiveness that has existed since 1924. The American people may have to choose between dealing with racial situations in a new and just way and being increasingly handicapped in the world's arena of trade and politics.

Representative Johnson does not propose to reopen the whole question of immigration. He has, in fact, qualified his proposal to the effect that the new, so-called quota for Japanese nationals would be restricted to those eligible to citizenship in this country,

namely, whites or blacks born in Japan and therefore regarded under the national origins clause as being of Japanese extraction. The Japanese race would thus continue to be excluded as it is now.

Such a solution begs the whole question. It merely enlarges on paper a category already larger than needed. At present Japan has a nominal quota of 100, which is restricted to whites and blacks born in Japan and not open to actual Japanese. According to the last report of the Congressional Information Bureau at Washington, only sixteen visas were used of the hundred open to such white and black "Japanese" during the fiscal year 1929-1930. Enlarged possibilities for entry under this category entirely fail to meet the situation. But if Mr. Johnson is working toward a genuine quota that would not exclude any Japanese on the basis of color, he would be meeting a demand and a viewpoint that, existing since the passage of the 1924 act, has now become far more powerful and vocal.

III

By ROY MALCOM

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AN important factor in the program to restrict immigration as a measure of unemployment relief is the Filipino, who, up to the present time, has had free entry into the United States. The anti-Filipino riots in California and Washington in the last two years, and the growing opposition to the immigration of these "nationals" of the United States, emphasize the long-apparent fact that, whatever the Filipino may be racially, the American public looks upon him as an Oriental.

Whereas the immigration of Chinese was stopped by Federal law in 1882, and the Japanese were barred by the immigration act of 1924, Fili-

pinos, as "nationals" of the United States, are, on the other hand, permitted to enter. The Filipino occupies a unique place in our body politic: he is neither alien nor citizen. He is held to be a citizen of the Philippine Islands, a subject of the United States, but not a citizen. The lower Federal courts are divided on the question of his eligibility to citizenship by naturalization. The Supreme Court has not yet passed on the question.

This aspect of the immigration problem is barely a decade old. The Federal census of 1920 reported only 5,603 Filipinos in the United States. Since 1920 thousands have flocked into the Pacific Coast States. Immi-

gration statistics show that 31,092 Filipinos were admitted into California alone in the ten years from 1920 to 1929. In the seven-year period from 1923 to 1929 the average number of arrivals per year was 4,177. In 1929 almost 6,000 immigrated into California, the largest number in any one year since the invasion began. Some 3,154 Filipinos entered the United States at ports in the Seattle district and 1,118 entered the port of San Francisco between Jan. 1 and Sept. 1, 1930. They are coming in at the present time, then, at the rate of 5,000 or 6,000 per year. A fair estimate would reveal about 60,000 on the Pacific Coast today.

What is the magnet that is drawing an increasing number of these American subjects to our western shores? Some maintain that they come to take the place of the Japanese, who have been definitely excluded since 1924. Others hold that it is the lure of better economic opportunities. In the State of Washington, many Filipinos are found in agricultural pursuits. In California they are employed in agriculture and in domestic and personal service. The former includes asparagus cutting, fruit picking, rice harvesting, hoeing and topping beets, celery planting, hop picking and general farm labor. In the field of domestic and personal service, Filipinos are employed as bell boys, bus boys, cooks, dishwashers, door boys, house cleaners, hall boys, painters, kitchen helpers and pantrymen. As hotel, restaurant and domestic workers, they are displacing native white workers in California. Several thousand are employed in the fish canneries and box factories of Alaska. A few are going into business for themselves. They are managing garages, fruit stands, restaurants, carpenter shops, barber shops, pool rooms and dance halls.

A group which constitutes an interesting element is the student class. There is a steady stream of young men who have been educated in American colleges and universities, return-

ing home to enter the educational, economic and political life of the Philippine Islands. From 2,000 to 3,000 Filipino students are today enrolled in State and private institutions of higher learning in the United States. We also find quite a number registered in American high schools.

There has been apparently an increasing demand for Filipino labor on the Pacific Coast. This is due in some measure to the exclusion of Chinese and Japanese. On the other hand, it has been discovered that many employers prefer Filipino workers to white labor because the Filipino is considered steadier and more willing to put up with bad working conditions, such as poor board, long hours and bad lodging facilities, while the white worker becomes dissatisfied and complains under such conditions.

In agricultural occupations, Filipinos are displacing whites and actively competing with Mexicans. The State Department reports that during the first six months of 1930 only 3,674 Mexicans immigrated into the United States, an annual rate of 7,438, as compared with an average rate of 56,747 for the five previous fiscal years. This represents a reduction of 87.1 per cent. To what extent this decrease is due to Filipino competition is an open question. Mexicans are employed in sections of the United States where there is no such competition. However, as an agricultural worker the Filipino seems preferable to the Mexican immigrant.

The attitude of organized labor toward Filipino immigration is similar to the stand which it has taken on Japanese immigration. In both California and Washington organized labor, in response to complaints of American workers that they are being supplanted by Filipinos, has urged the exclusion of the Filipino immigrant laborer. The American Federation of Labor has upon two different occasions petitioned Congress to exclude Filipino labor. A bill providing for such exclusion was introduced in the

House of Representatives in 1928. A similar bill was introduced in December, 1930.

On the other hand, employers both in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast favor Filipino immigration. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association of Honolulu imports Filipino laborers under a contract system. In 1928 it was estimated that 70 per cent of agricultural laborers in Hawaii were Filipinos. From Hawaii many of them come to the mainland. American employers desire a large supply of cheap labor and are, consequently, friendly to this kind of immigration.

This is a problem not only of regional concern but of national import, and it has an interesting international aspect. It protrudes itself into the social and economic life of the Pacific Coast. A number of our Congressmen feel that it is closely related to the question of Philippine independence. America has successfully dealt with the threat of Chinese immigration, and it has temporarily stopped, whether rightly or wrongly, the immigration of Japanese labor. How will it meet this third wave of Oriental immigration that beats so persistently upon its western shores?

A New Attack on American Universities

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

IT has been said that the most powerful body of men in the United States is the National Senate; and the next most powerful group is the presidents of the significant colleges and universities of the land. Men and women of the type of Eliot of Harvard, Harper of Chicago, Gilman of Johns Hopkins, Mark Hopkins of Williams and Alice Freeman of Wellesley were not only national figures; they were pillars in the vast and constantly extending structure of higher institutions of learning in the United States.

All the early colleges felt the responsibility of keeping up the supply of clergy and also of statesmen. The early colleges also furnished the teachers of the schools and clerical and non-clerical college professors.

The idea that a college was the place for shaping and polishing the raw material for business as well as professional men is comparatively new.

Modern conditions of making and giving away money have made possible the growth of enormous institutions with thousands of students, both men and women, housed in buildings emulating the palaces of Rome and the abbeys of the medieval church. There has also been an upspringing of technical schools and technical departments of colleges which provide training for various scientific and literary professions till recently unknown. In no other country of the world is there such a large body of college students who have no intention of pursuing a learned profession and yet are perfectly willing, if shown the way, to

do a respectable stint of academic work.

Many college teachers have a warm feeling for the "C plus man" who has not the mind or the will to excel but does an honest, straightforward job and goes out into the world a strong supporter of college education. In the United States, more than in most countries, the future active men of political and business affairs seek and enjoy a college education. The successful and effective student nowadays must be a man or woman who thinks, who can express himself, who can assemble materials and arrive at his own results.

Perhaps the most remarkable change in the attitude of the public toward a college education is the growth of scientific and technical departments and associated schools and of separate institutions for technical training, mostly in scientific subjects. Such an institution as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology pours out a body of graduates who are as carefully educated as in the colleges and who will make their way in the world as educated leaders.

Right athwart this comfortable confidence in college education lies the recent publication by Abraham Flexner entitled *Universities, American, English, German*. (New York: Oxford University Press.) Here is an observer, a graduate of Johns Hopkins, who has spent much time in research on both sides of the Atlantic, who is very familiar with American conditions and disposed to be fair-minded. Yet from the beginning to the end of his book he criticizes our "naïve trust in education, lack of comprehension, aversion to discipline and over-emphasis on social activities as against intellectual effort." He protests especially against four evils—athleticism; courses of study that are trivial and lacking in educative value; business schools and departments; and mail order education. Evidently his criticisms sting, inasmuch as they have brought out defensive and un-

convincing explanations from very high quarters. Without attempting a general review of a book so carefully wrought, so suggestive and in some respects so undeniably destructive, it will be worth while to inquire how far Flexner's criticisms are justified in these four fields.

On athletics the public has abundant information apart from what is contained in new books, for the football season is just over. Everybody knows that college athletics have gone far toward breaking up the old-fashioned gate nights and rebellions and general hullabaloo of three generations ago. Athletics is also one of the fields of human endeavor in which nobody can succeed by favor or popularity or trickery. Hence athletics provide a closer suggestion of the conditions of later life than class activities. How far athletics are from complete education is proved by the observed fact that success in athletics does not necessarily mean success in later life, not even a life of good health. It is strange that vigorous exercise of the muscles, so desirable for a student, should nowadays be confined in the most interesting sports to the small percentage of proved athletes, except of course for the tremendous exertions of voice and limbs by the cheer leaders and those whom they lead. The hard-and-fast line maintained between the professional athlete and the amateur in athletic circles is due to the fact that the professional is paid to win, but he may also be paid to lose—a motive impossible in the genuine amateur. Therefore, whenever a college student is supported in whole or in part, without corresponding services rendered, he abandons the amateur platform. A coach is a professional if he, not a student and not a member of a team, directs the moves upon the field from minute to minute. The spectacle may be magnificent, but it is war and not sport.

Flexner justly protests against trivial courses because of a preposterous extension of the elective sys-

tem. President Eliot's plan always had in view a choice only among subjects capable of intellectual discipline. The great argument for election of courses is that it creates a presumption of interest in the subject chosen; hence training must be given in every course.

Neither Eliot nor the great presidents and teachers who have followed him all over the country ever intended to admit to parity with the old required subjects courses that did not require thought. Yet many modern programs appear to be made up on the principle that any subject that can be subdivided into fifty successive lectures in a half-year is an intellectual discipline. There is no such thing as a genuine college course that does not require considerable study, comparison of data, and presumably individual written work. Nevertheless, there seems a tendency, even in very large and influential institutions, to admit to the elective list all kinds of subjects, whether or no there is a literature of experience in them, provided they have some relation to what students may earn their livelihood by later in life. Everybody who cares to know it is aware that some of the schools and courses especially intended for teachers have been converted into immense technical machines which exercise a maleficent influence on teachers and school systems throughout the country. Hence the national misfortune if teachers' courses are not substantial and intellectual.

An interesting feature of Flexner's book is his violent attack upon collegiate schools of business, particularly against the most highly developed of them—the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The burden of the criticism is that business instruction aims "to short circuit experience and to furnish advertisers, salesmen or handy men for banks, department stores or transportation companies."

Some ground for criticism can be found in that the actualities of com-

mercial organizations and transactions do not necessarily effect an intellectual training. Nevertheless, large numbers of men in business send their sons and daughters to such institutions because they believe that they will have the opportunity to generalize upon a wide foundation of actual experience. It is difficult to see why a business school, with high entrance requirements, with systematic courses, with stress on individual study and research, is not as much entitled to respect for its intellectual training as a medical or law school. The best answer to the criticism is the success of those schools of business which most rigorously sift the raw factual material and require the closest application by students.

Upon the correspondence school system as carried on by some of the most populous universities in the country, Dr. Flexner can have free course and be justified. He is not the first to point out the preposterous triviality of many of the courses offered by the so-called correspondence schools. The theory of those schools is that written work showing knowledge and thought can be sent in to be read and corrected and made the basis of training by a competent instructor. If you visit one of those schools you may find that the "competent instructors" are young women, twin sisters of the stenographers in the same concern, possessing nothing but a high school training. No contribution to education can be made by a correspondence school. No success can be had through a course without a staff of competent, expert, patient teachers, willing to work without attaining a reputation and to work in the most laborious and time-consuming method. To give academic credit for correspondence work toward a degree is to grant a degree in considerable part simply upon the statement of the applicant that he has done his work honestly.

Presidents of great universities may insist that the discipline of correspondence work is as strict as of class

work; they may defend the advertising methods which place the highest university instruction on the same plane of accessibility as Goodman's Good Galoshes. There is no evading Flexner's scathing judgment on written work accepted by Chicago University on the subjects of "Photographic Studies on Boiled Icing," "Twins in Hosiery Advertising," and a dissertation on "A Time and Motion Comparison on Four Methods of Dishwashing," printed as part of the qualifications for the degree of Master of Arts. Columbia University, claiming 7,500 home study students, offers (though not for university credit) such mind arousing subjects as "Elementary Typewriting" and "Expressing Personality in a Letter." And why should a great university teach grammar school subjects to anybody?

The truth seems to be that the most shady and preposterous methods of advertising manufactured goods have invaded some institutions of higher learning. We are aware that no staple article of commerce any longer sells on its merits without some kind of display advertising. Surely institutions of higher learning do not need to increase their fees or their income or their efficiency by such talkie-movie methods of retail business. The notion of advertising seems to be behind a great many of the get-wise-quick methods.

So severe a book as that of Flexner's is very uncomfortable, for it rests upon a substratum of evidence furnished by powerful institutions of learning to their own discredit. "Good near-beer needs no bush"—educationally or morally.

Is the Universe Disintegrating?

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service

THE annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was opened at Cleveland on Dec. 30 with an address by Dr. Robert A. Millikan, the retiring president. Taking as his subject "Atomic Disintegration and Atomic Synthesis" Dr. Millikan spoke on the controversy regarding the energy that keeps the universe going. Such British scientists as Eddington and Jeans contend that, according to the second law of thermodynamics, energy, like water, flows only down hill, that the energy in the universe is gradually vanishing, and that it will some day totally disappear, leaving the universe in a state of "heat death." "The one thing of which you

may be quite sure," said Dr. Millikan, "is that neither of us knows anything about it." Dr. Millikan's address, voicing the general opinion of American scientists, was to the effect that all recent discoveries "bearing on the question of the origin and destiny of the physical elements" seem to show that although the law may hold good on the earth, it does not necessarily bind the furthest regions of space. Dr. Millikan argued that several of the discoveries point to "the possibility of the existence of an integrating or building-up process among the physical elements. * * * If atom formation out of hydrogen is taking place all through space, as it seems to be doing, it may

be that the hydrogen is somehow being replenished there too from the only form of energy that we know to be all the time leaking out from the stars to interstellar space, namely, radiant energy. This has been speculatively suggested many times before in order to allow the Creator to be continually on His job."

Sir Arthur Eddington a few days later gave his views. Taking as his subject "The End of the World—or Space-Time," for his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Mathematical Association in London on Jan. 5, 1931, he explained why he believes that the increase of entropy gives a definite direction to time. "Entropy is a very peculiar conception," he said. "It might most conveniently be described as the measure of the disorganization of a system. Accordingly, the signpost for time resolves itself into a law that the disorganization is increased from the past to the future. There is no other dependent signpost for time. Evolution teaches that more and more highly organized systems develop as time goes on, but this does not contradict the conclusion that on the whole there is a loss of organization." With ever-increasing disorganization ahead, he predicted that the phenomenon of evolution must be swallowed up in the advancing tide of change and chaos, the whole universe reaching a state of complete disorganization, "a uniform featureless mass in thermodynamic equilibrium." "This is the end of the world," he continued. "Time will extend on and on, presumably to infinity, but there will be no definite sense in which it can be said to go on." To justify the subject of his address, Sir Arthur said he ought to prophesy what the end of the world would be like, although he was not keen to do so, but he gave one of several possibilities: "It is widely thought that matter slowly changes into radiation. If so, it would seem that the universe ultimately

would become a ball of radiation, growing ever larger, the radiation passing into longer and longer wave lengths. About every 1,500,000,000 years it will double its radius and its size and go on expanding this way in geometrical progression forever."

The new president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, elected at the convention at Cleveland, is Dr. Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University.

Dr. Leonard G. Rowntree has reported his experience in the treatment of Addison's disease with a substance which Dr. W. W. Swingle and Dr. J. J. Pfiffner of Princeton University have isolated from the suprarenal gland. The substance is not yet on the market, but its immediate effects in the crises of Addison's disease have been dramatic. The relation between disease of the suprarenal glands and a group of symptoms that mark a comparatively rare condition has come to be known as Addison's disease, discovered in 1849 by Thomas Addison. The organs which are attacked, the suprarenal glands, are glands of internal secretion. They lie above the kidneys, are roughly triangular in shape and are small but very important. From them comes adrenalin and other substances. It is one of these other substances, a material which is essential to life and which is missing in Addison's disease, that a number of scientists have been trying to isolate, and which, apparently, Dr. Swingle and Dr. Pfiffner have obtained.

The present period of progress began last March, when Dr. Swingle and Dr. Pfiffner offered experimental evidence that they had isolated the long-sought "cortical hormone" of the suprarenal gland. Shortly thereafter a patient in a state of collapse from Addison's disease, the condition which physicians speak of as a crisis of the disease, was given a dose of the hormone. Three days after the last dose the patient said that he felt in a per-

fect state of health. Another patient, who was tired and exhausted and whose condition was getting worse, was given the hormone. By the fifth day she was able to run along the corridor of the hospital without difficulty. The effect has been similar in three other cases. On the basis of what has been accomplished no claim is made that the cure of Addison's disease has been found. In many cases the underlying condition which causes destruction of the suprarenal glands is tuberculosis, and there is no reason to believe that the "cortical hormone" will cure tuberculosis. It is not even known yet whether, if the tuberculosis is checked, the hormone can prolong life year after year. It apparently is established, however, that the cortical hormone has saved life in the crises of Addison's disease.

An unknown chapter in the life of common disease germs, during which they are invisible through the most powerful microscope and so small that they slip through the finest filters, has been found by Professor Philip Hadley of the University of Michigan. Cholera, typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria and other germs were shown to take on a filtrable state of existence when roughly treated by chemicals, digestive fluids and unfavorable food. This new G-type culture, as Professor Hadley has named it, differs markedly in form, growth, chemical and serum reactions from the ordinary types of the germ. The germ of dysentery, known as the Shiga bacillus, which was the organism most thoroughly studied in the G-type stage, was found to be non-toxic when rabbits were infected with its invisible stage. On the other hand, the bacillus in its invisible state was resistant to its usually effective enemy, the bacteriophage, or "bacteria eater." It seems probable that Professor Hadley has discovered a reason why diseases can lie dormant for a time and then later become dangerous. After the germ has been induced to take its G-type existence it propagates itself and retains the char-

acteristics of its invisible form. But after some weeks of growth of the culture, the germ reassumes its common form. This indicated to Professor Hadley that his G-type cultures are a real stage in the changing existence of the bacterial races. The finest porcelain filters that can be made do not have holes small enough to separate the organisms of the young broth cultures of the new G-type from the liquid in which they grow. Moreover, the filtrates and the cultures themselves, when sealed up for more than two years, were alive and ready to produce the common form of germ. Professor Hadley considers the filtrable virus forms he has been investigating as comprising, at least in part, the bacterial microgonidia, which correspond loosely to reproductive cells or spores. These microgonidia are liberated from the cells and filaments of the germs at a certain point in their development.

The final value for the most accurate measurement ever made of the constant of gravitation, from which can be figured the mass of the earth and the force with which the earth pulls the moon, has now been determined, after seven years' work by Dr. Paul R. Heyl, physicist of the United States Bureau of Standards, as the fraction 6.670 over 100,000,000. According to Newton's law of gravitation, any two bodies in the universe attract each other with a force that is greater as they are more massive and less in proportion to the square of the distance separating them. The exact force is obtained in scientific units by multiplying together the two masses, dividing by the square of the distance between them and multiplying the result by the constant of gravitation. The physicist refers to the constant as *G*. The first effort to determine *G* was by a Frenchman, Pierre Bouguer, in 1740, but success was not attained until twenty-five years later, when an English astronomer, the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, made a rough approximation. In the years

1797 and 1798 Henry Cavendish, an English physicist, first performed the experiment with small, known masses in the laboratory. With this method two tiny balls are attached to the end of a little rod, and the rod is balanced at the end of a long thin wire. As two large masses of metal are brought near, the small balls are pulled toward them and the wire is twisted. A tiny mirror attached to the wire near the rod turns with it and moves a spot of light reflected from it to a distant screen. Essentially this is the method used in the new determination at the Bureau of Standards.

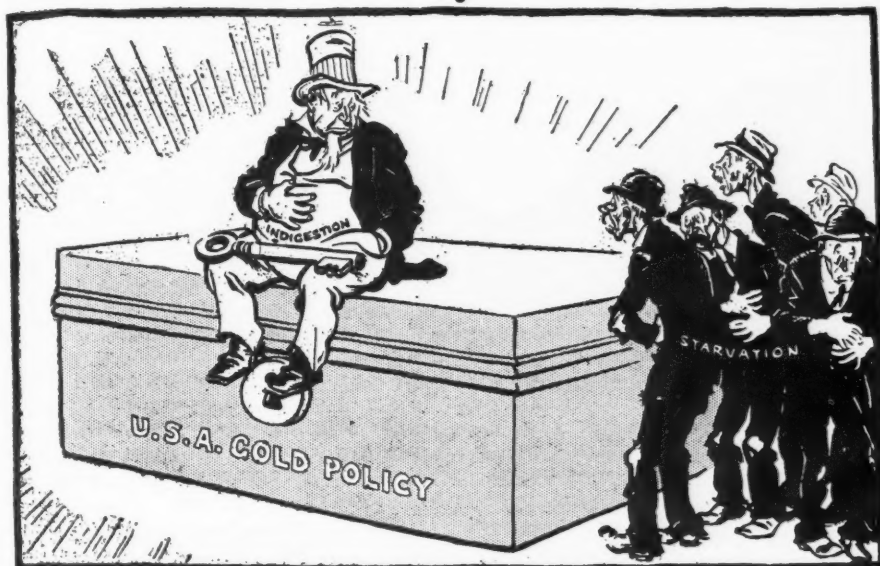
The largest masses used by Dr. Heyl were steel cylinders weighing about 150 pounds each. The smallest were balls of gold, platinum and glass, each weighing about 2 ounces. Though the attraction that the large masses exerted on the small ones was about the same as the weight of the ink in the period at the end of this sentence, this force was measured with an accuracy of a thirtieth of 1 per cent. Instead of merely measuring the displacement in the position when the large masses were far away and when they were near, Dr. Heyl set the small masses swinging back and forth and measured the time of their swing. This period of oscillation changed as the large masses were brought close. In 1927 Dr. Heyl announced a preliminary value for the figure, of 6.664, but then the work had only been done with the small balls of gold and platinum. Since then he has repeated the work with the glass balls, and these gave a somewhat higher value, so that the final figure, the mean of all three, is 6.670.

As far as the largest present-day telescope can reach into space—a distance of 300,000,000 times the 6,000,000,000,000 miles that light will travel in a year—there are uniformly scattered a total of 30,000,000 island galaxies. Each of these is a system of stars similar to the Milky Way system, of which the sun and all the other stars that we can see are part. Further, the

space between them is perfectly transparent, at least as nearly as we can judge. Dr. Edwin P. Hubble of the Mount Wilson Observatory has found the average distance between neighboring nebulae is about 1,500,000 light years. Many of them are arranged into clusters, but, if large volumes are considered, their distribution is uniform. This was learned by a study of photographs made with three different telescopes, including the Mount Wilson 100-inch, the world's largest. With so many objects they may all be assumed to be of the same brightness, and the photographs showed that when nebulae four times as faint were recorded, there were eight times as many. As the faintness of a nebula varies not with the distance directly but with its square, one that is four times as faint as another must be at twice the distance. Therefore, the number of nebulae vary with the cube of the distance, and this means that they are uniformly distributed.

Dr. Hubble also considered the question of what is beyond the observable region. Does the uniform distribution of galaxies hold indefinitely? "There is no evidence of a thinning out, no trace of a physical boundary," he says. "The universe, we must suppose, stretches out beyond the frontiers, and for a while, at least, the unknown regions are probably much like the known. This is a legitimate extrapolation, but it cannot be pushed indefinitely. An infinite homogeneous universe is not compatible with the observed darkness of the sky and the stability of the stellar systems. Yet, if the universe is not homogeneous, then the observable region is not a fair sample, and extrapolations lose their significance." This dilemma, he explains, can be escaped by means of the theory of relativity, which assumes a closed universe with a finite volume but no boundaries, something like the surface of a sphere. This fits in, he explained, with the apparent high velocities observed for some of the more distant galaxies.

Current History in Cartoons



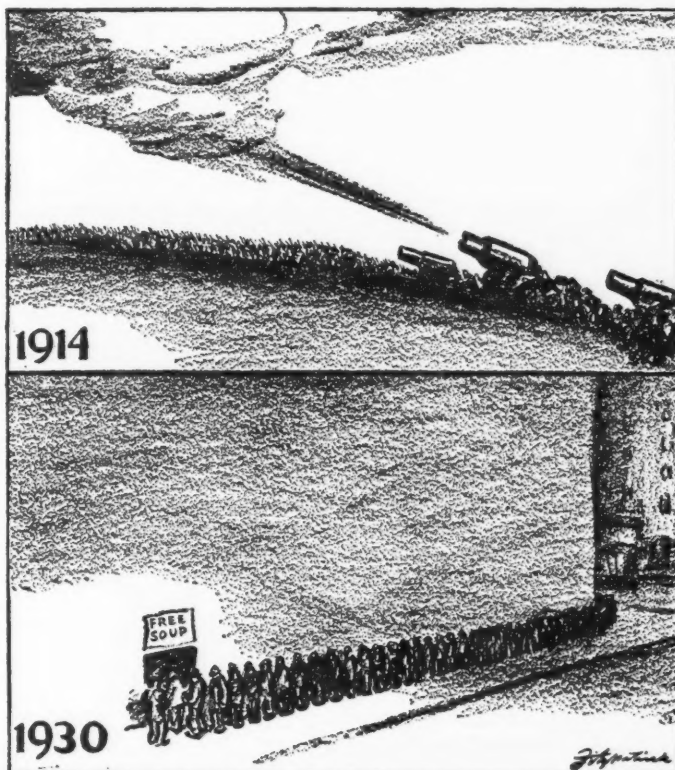
FOREIGN TRADE: AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN (A BRITISH VIEW)

Uncle Sam: "You boys needn't be so sore at me. Haven't I got a pain in the same place as you?"

—Glasgow Eve. Times

THE SECOND ACT OF THE GREAT DRAMA

—St. Louis Post-
Dispatch



THE
PREPARATORY
DISARMAMENT
CONFERENCE
BEFORE
WALLS
STRONGER
THAN THOSE
OF JERICHO

—St. Louis Post-
Dispatch



MODERN SAT-
ELLITES OF
MILITARISM

A Dutch interpre-
tation

—Notenkraker,
Amsterdam



UNREST IN SPAIN
 "Toreador, now guard thee!"
 —Glasgow Eve. News



POLISH ELECTIONS
 How the German minorities voted (a
 German interpretation)
 —Jugend, Munich

THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE
 (Soviet Style)

Bolshevist Judge: "Prisoner at the
 bar, have you anything to say why
 sentence should not be passed upon
 you?"
 —Punch, London



The capitalist enemy—a Soviet conception—fully armed. The daggers are Poincaré, Abramovitch (Menshevik leader), the Pope and Poland —*Pravda*, Moscow



THE NEW GANYMEDE
Poland's rise to power. A German view
—*Kladderadatsch*, Berlin



FRAGILE!
France: "What are you bringing me?"
"The new Cabinet"
—*Guerin Meschino*, Milan



The Earth: "Doctor,
I feel awfully de-
pressed"

Dr. Time: "Cheer
up. You never yet
had a depression I
didn't cure"

—New York
American



"I'VE TWO PAR-
TIES NOW. WHY
A THIRD?"

—Boston Eve.
Transcript

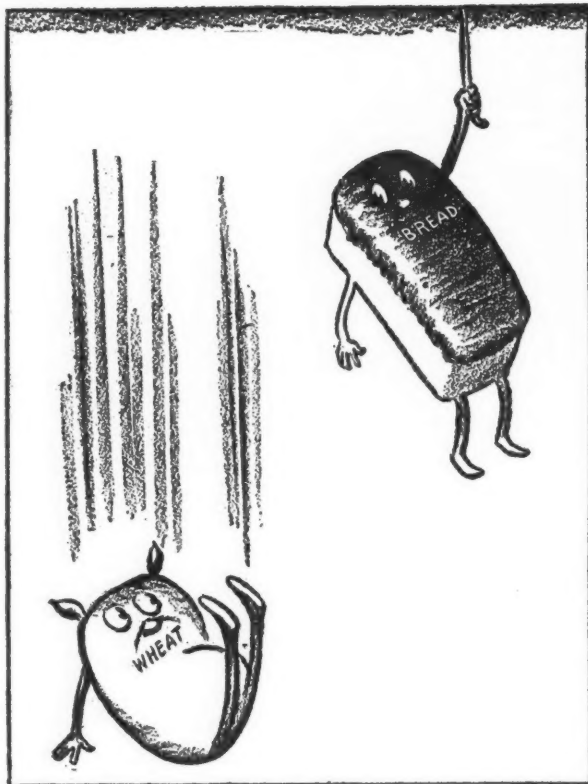


**SENATOR
NORRIS
AND THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY**

—New York
Herald
Tribune



Republican
Hamlet:
"The time is
out of joint;
O cursed
spite that
ever I was
born to set it
right"
—Adams
Service



THE PRICE RIDDLE: WHAT'S HOLDING HIM UP?
—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

A Month's World History

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

NO truer words were ever spoken than those by Léon Blum in the French Chamber of

Deputies a few weeks ago, when he warned his countrymen that, though none of them wanted war, they were heaping up the fuel for the conflagration. We are all doing it. Tariffs and unjust treaties, braggart speeches by statesmen, the ruthless exaction of pounds of flesh by nations possessed of power, minorities that are oppressed, and—we are just beginning to realize this—our failure to take into proper account the races that we are pleased to call inferior—these are the things of which wars are made. Yet it is just possible that out of the distress that now weighs down the world may be born a realization of its causes and a willingness to cooperate in an ordered plan for their cure.

On New Year's Day President Hoover proclaimed the naval pact as being in effect between the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Japanese Empire. While this treaty leaves a good deal to be desired, it establishes at least a term to naval competition as between these powers. Already three of our battleships and destroyers, totaling 50,000 tons, have been scrapped. Our submarine fleet is

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD
*Princeton University; Current
History Associate*

rapidly being reduced within the limit of 57,500 tons. We are, it is true, considerably increasing our tonnage

of cruisers and aircraft, but that is within a fixed agreement; and it is possible that the full amount may not be constructed. Similar adjustments are going on in Great Britain and Japan. As yet there has been no composition of the differences between France and Italy which prevent them from accepting for themselves the obligations of the treaty. Conversations are still going on, and there is good reason to hope for their ultimate success. Robert L. Craigie, a British naval expert and representative of the Foreign Office, during visits to Rome and Paris, has recently been attempting, as has Mr. Gibson, both before the meeting of the Disarmament Commission and since, to effect such an agreement. Italy still demands a parity which France is still unwilling to accord. France holds the whip hand, for financial conditions in Italy are such that she is unable, at present at least, to build the vessels the right to which she wishes to secure. Until the relation between the two navies is established, the three-power treaty is not secure, for should France build above the figure tentatively agreed upon,

Great Britain very possibly may take advantage of the safeguarding clause and upset the ratios established with the United States.

The Preparatory Commission on Disarmament has finished its deliberations and the skeleton convention which it prepared was outlined in January **CURRENT HISTORY**. Immediately after the conclusion of the meetings a committee of experts, representing eleven countries, undertook the task of providing a concrete plan of budgetary limitation which will be presented to the Disarmament Conference when it is convened a year hence. The success of the conference will almost wholly depend on the popular demand for it that can be created during the next twelve months, and whether, by economic and other adjustments, an atmosphere favorable to compromise can be established.

Of the forces contributing to this end, the present economic distress may quite possibly be the most powerful. Its immediate effects have been seen in the agrarian conferences during the past Summer and Autumn at Warsaw, at Bucharest and at Athens, and in the stimulus that it has given to the discussion of the plan for a European union. It would seem to have been demonstrated that any political agreement, such as that which formed the substance of the Briand memorandum, is impossible. Germany and Hungary can never be induced to underwrite an insurance on the status quo as established by the Versailles treaty, but they may be inclined to join in an economic understanding. France may modify its present position. Already influential sections of the French press have begun a campaign for an economic rather than a political union. Although thus far France has been comparatively free from unemployment, and from the economic dislocation that is at once a cause and a result of it, she is fully conscious of the menace of the situation. The shadow of Russia falls heavily on her, and

the security for which she is constantly striving is threatened quite as much by economic as by political instability.

To an even greater degree the other European nations, all of them more dependent than is France on the outside world for markets, for food and for raw materials, realize their impotence when acting alone and the futility of individual action. The difficulties in the way are enormous. Even within the limited range of a single industry, it has been with the greatest difficulty that joint agreements have been arranged and maintained. The various European cartels have been severely strained by the falling market, and Germany has thus far refused to make the concessions that would permit the rehabilitation of the sugar industry. Tariff walls cannot immediately be torn down without disaster. Even if the conference charged with the task of drawing the plan for a union were endowed with perfect intelligence, which, alas, will hardly be the case, the readjustments consequent upon the scheme are bound to hurt a good many people. Once established, it is inconceivable that the union could operate without friction and charges of bad faith. Sanctions of some kind would seem to be necessary. Notwithstanding all this, earnest, thoughtful men all over Europe, no visionaries, but men with their feet squarely on the ground, are bent on finding a program on which there may be agreement. It will not be accomplished at once, nor is there cause for discouragement if the first attempt is not completely successful. The end is worth the struggle, and that will be made.

For the purpose of "settling" the question of reparations, the Young Plan was drawn and the Bank for International Settlements was established. Both steps were exceedingly important, and no doubt the experts, when they spoke of the plan as final, kept perfectly straight faces. It is very doubtful if any one of them, how-

ever, believed it to be. It was the best arrangement that could be made at the time. No one then could foresee, nor had they any reason to expect, the catastrophic fall in commodity prices which, only a few months later, upset all their calculations. The annuities were based on the amount of goods that the Germans could turn into marks and pay to the Allies without disrupting their economic system. No one wanted to do that. Then came the fall of prices, and today the amount of goods Germany must pay has very nearly been doubled. Only to a bookkeeping mind can their present obligation seem a just one, and it requires no prophet to predict that before many months they must seek relief, at first through the postponement of their conditional payments.

The fall of prices has affected equally, of course, the war debts to the United States. They also have been doubled. One wonders how long our Treasury and our State Departments can maintain the fiction that there is no relation between the two types of international obligations. Any adjustment will be politically very difficult, the more so since the government now in power has for so long a time fostered the delusion that through two generations Europe will continue to pay us tribute. Their task will be no easier in consequence of our diminishing governmental revenues or when, as a result of our attempt to control the price of wheat, and to maintain it at a figure 25 cents above the world market, it is compelled to dump our increasing surplus, and contribute still further to the fall of world prices. Payments on this indebtedness will be increasingly difficult. The revenues of the debtor countries must necessarily fall as economic distress continues. Factories that are closed and men that are out of work neither buy goods nor pay taxes. Our invisible exports, the money sent by the foreign-born to those at home and that spent by

American tourists have already been severely curtailed, and certainly will be still less in 1931. Our tariff forbids them to ship goods to us for which we are prepared to pay, and our capacity to consume goods, either domestic or foreign, continues to decline. There are few who share the optimism that radiates from Dr. Julius Klein of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce in his statement published at the end of 1930.

More and more often do we hear it said that the parliamentary system of government has broken down and that it is incompetent to deal with the highly complex affairs of the modern world. Certainly no one can be satisfied with its results in France or in Germany nor be entirely happy about the British Parliament or the American Congress. The alternative, however, as exhibited in the dictatorships of Russia and Italy, Poland and Spain, cannot be said to have been more conspicuously successful. Such a system gives satisfaction only to the small group which is in power. The opposition, even though it be a majority, is voiceless, powerless and resentful. Ultimately it is bound to rebel, and rebellion is generally destructive. The fact is that "systems" of whatever sort, when applied to human beings, never work very well. Systems are logical, and human beings never are. Unsatisfactory as is the parliamentary system, it at least gives minorities the right to be heard in protest and to have a share in the determination of policy. That satisfaction is generally enough to keep them contented.

Any summary of the international situation during 1930 must deal largely with the League, but the record of its activities is beyond the scope of this article. Month by month, session by session, its activities and its competence increase. It is far from being a perfect instrument, and it will never become such, but it is steadily becoming a more useful one. Even the few govern-

ments that are outside find it a very satisfactory medium for the transaction of international business. The United States may or may not eventually join the League, but with every year we come into a closer relation with it. There is little doubt that in time we shall be a member of the World Court, and that ultimately we shall find a formula that will permit our association with the League in a further effort for the elimination of war.

Such in general terms was the international situation in the first weeks of the new year. Almost immediately the discussion of these outstanding problems was given a new turn by an important statement made by Albert H. Wiggin, chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York, the world's largest private bank, in his annual report to the stockholders, published on Jan. 12. Mr. Wiggin enumerated five major causes of the world crisis and suggested at least a partial solution:

- (1) The impediments to international trade through excessive tariffs and other restrictive policies;
- (2) The abnormalities in certain commodity markets due to governmental and private attempts at valorization;
- (3) The tardiness with which wholesale prices of finished goods, retail prices, wages and rentals have adjusted themselves to the sharp fall in raw materials;
- (4) Low money rates and excessive credit in the past which led to undue diversion of bank money to slow and speculative uses, and
- (5) Political difficulties, especially in India, China and Russia.

Mr. Wiggin went on to say:

The most serious of the adverse factors affecting business is the inability of foreign countries to obtain dollars in amount sufficient both to make interest and amortization payments on their debts to us and to buy our exports in adequate volume.

From the middle of 1924 to 1929 we delayed the adverse effect of our high tariffs upon our exports by heavy buying of foreign bonds. The effect of this was to increase, year by year, the inter-

est and amortization charges the foreign countries have to meet, and to bring about a congestion in our foreign bond market.

Our alternative today is, therefore, either a reduction of our tariffs or readjustment to our greatly reduced volume of exports. The burden of this readjustment, now under way, falls with particular weight upon agriculture. Farms are being abandoned. All our export interests are affected, including automobiles, copper, oil and many manufacturing lines. In time, we can work through it, producing less for export and more for the domestic market. A reduction in tariff, made in the interest not of change but of stability, would still leave us our general protective tariff system.

Cancellation or reduction of the inter-allied debts has been increasingly discussed throughout the world. This question has an importance far beyond the dollar magnitude of the debts involved. Without commenting on the many arguments on both sides of the controversy and aside from the question of the justice of cancellation, I am firmly convinced it would be good business for our government to initiate a reduction in these debts at this time.

With these views such an authority as Sir Josiah Stamp, a director of the Bank of England, was virtually in agreement. In an interview he expressed the opinion that "any movement to offset a disastrous slide in gold value would be advantageous to everybody. I think America is realizing that as the indebtedness becomes greater in goods it is postponing the day when they can improve their own export balance. I don't say Great Britain ought to plead for it, but any adjustment along those lines of international obligations, increased by virtue of the changing value of gold, would be correct economically. The debt question is the key to the rest."

Sir Josiah also admitted that the burden on Germany under the Young plan had become much greater than had been intended. Any action by America in the direction of debt reduction under the Young plan, he said, would be reflected in Germany and might help her recover.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

LOOKING back at the work of the League, one is struck by two simple facts—first, that the League is on the right road toward the solution of world problems; second, that progress toward their solution is very, very slow. After ten years of preparation the League is now facing the test of that preparation in at least four major fields: Can it offer such security that nations will be willing to limit armaments? Can it so reduce national self-interest that tariffs and trade restrictions can be modified? Can it so break down national and race prejudices that political minorities may receive fair treatment and become loyal, contented members of their countries? Can it establish methods by which unjust, imperfect or outworn treaties may be revised so that unsatisfactory conditions may gradually be rectified?

Unless it can do these things the League will fail, another world war will eventually result, and from its ashes another League will emerge.

The answers depend upon whether one takes a short point of view for the next few months or a long view of years. The League as a piece of machinery evidently has the ability to accomplish these tasks, but it is not so clear that its member nations are ready to perform them. The last year gives some indication of what we may expect. In disarmament the framework of a general treaty has been built. The Council must set the date of the general conference, when some 6,000 delegates will assemble at Geneva to fill the blank spaces in the treaty with figures. There is reasonable hope, also, that they will meet again in 1937, 1942, 1947, and so on, and that in time real disarmament will appear.

In the economic field progress is very slow. The conference of 1927

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pointed the way, but the nations have refused to follow. Gradually, however, the export and import restrictions are being canceled. Tariffs are, perhaps, not being raised as they would be if the conferences on concerted economic action had not been held, and there is a strong movement in Eastern Europe for an internal European tariff preference.

The minority problem is being solved very slowly. Montenegro wants to be independent and so does Macedonia. Neither Germany nor Poland is happy about its minorities. Germany went so far as to present to the meeting of the Council on Jan. 10 a very strong protest on the treatment of Germans in Pomerelia during the last elections. However, the situation is probably far better now than ever before in the world's history.

The question of treaty changes will perhaps be the slowest of all to be met. The spot that appears worst just now is the Polish Corridor, while the economic position of Danzig is probably becoming worse. Article XIX of the League covenant shows the way to treaty revision, but Poland and France stand firm for the status quo.

Meanwhile the important routine work of the League goes on. The report of the commission which investigated charges of slavery in Liberia was published in Geneva and Washington on Jan. 10. The investigation, headed by Cuthbert Christy of Great Britain, was undertaken at the request of Liberia and it revealed that in some respects the charges were justified. Liberia, advised of these results in October, 1930, notified the League that the abuses were being abolished. Nevertheless, Secretary Stimson took occasion on Jan. 6 to notify the Liberian Government that unless all traces

of forced labor were immediately eradicated and all abuses abolished, the friendly feelings of the United States for Liberia would be "alienated." Secretary Stimson charged that the Liberian Government had not acted in good faith, had reluctantly agreed to an inquiry, had retained high officials proved guilty, had submitted no definite plans for reform and would give the United States Chargé d'Affaires no satisfaction in his repeated requests.

The Christy report disclosed that while slave markets and slave dealers no longer exist, domestic slavery of a no less cruel nature flourishes. The social economy of the republic recognizes "pawning," by which a human being may be given into servitude in return for a sum of money. The system of contract and forced labor has lent itself to abuses of the gravest nature. High government officials including Vice President Yancey gave their sanction to forced labor which led directly to "criminal compulsion scarcely distinguishable from slave raiding and slave trading, and frequently by misrepresenting the destination" contract laborers found themselves in virtual slavery.

The commission disclosed that virtual slaves were shipped to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po and to Libreville in the French Congo. Between 1914 and 1927 there were 7,000 Liberians sent to Fernando Po as virtual slaves to work on the plantations. Few ever returned. After 1927 the traffic was continued by a private contract with a Liberian syndicate that included Vice President Yancey and relatives of President King. The recruiters of the syndicate often raided villages for workers, but the workers themselves seldom received any pay for their forced labor. In the traffic with Fernando Po as well as with other markets cruelties of an inhuman nature often occurred. In short the commission's investigation disclosed "a bloody trail of raided

villages, torturing, burning, beating and other outrages which presented a picture of the worst slaving horrors of a century ago."

The commission's recommendations for widespread reforms included the inauguration of the open door in Liberia in an economic and commercial sense, reconstruction of the Liberian Government's policy toward the natives, reorganization of the administration of the interior, outlawing pawning and domestic slavery, and extending education to all.

The subcommittee of customs experts has been asked to give technical opinions on (1) methods for application of tariffs according to gross weight, net weight, &c., (2) the customs régime of samples and of advertising matter, (3) the nationality of goods. The committee met at Geneva from Dec. 8 to 18 and drew up reports on these matters designed to unify customs regulations and aid foreign trade.

The Conference for the Unification of River Law (see January CURRENT HISTORY, page 587) finished its work and drew up three conventions, which will become effective when ratified by three or more States. The conventions have to do with the use of a flag to show the nationality of inland navigation vessels, the registration of such vessels, and rules concerning collisions. The most notable advance resulting from the conventions will be the agreement of the countries concerned to change their own national laws to conform to the new international code. The real interest in international river law in Europe dates back to 1905, but has become increasingly important since the great war owing to the construction of new canals connecting the rivers and thus increasing river navigation.

RATIFICATIONS

Sweden and Colombia have ratified the Opium Convention. Cuba has rati-

fied the protocol for American adherence to the World Court and also the protocol for revision of the court statute. The latter, however, was ratified with two reservations—that all States must ratify before the revision becomes effective, and the second protesting against the requirements that the court shall sit in permanent sessions and that the judges shall live near The Hague. These reservations must be accepted by all States before the protocol becomes effective. This will delay the coming into force of Article 68 of the revised statute, which certain Senators feel is necessary for the adequate protection of the United States in joining the court. On the other hand, it is now evident that all nations are agreed on Article 68, and that it will eventually become effective. Cuba's protest against permanent sessions of the court seems to have some weight, as the court convened on Jan. 15 with no business before it except the election of a president.

Bilateral treaties between the nations for the pacific settlement of disputes continue to grow in number. Spain has registered twenty of these treaties, Czechoslovakia and Germany sixteen each, Belgium eleven. Eight nations are bound by the "general act" for the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

The secretary general of the League has just distributed to the members a report of the subcommittee of experts on methods for the instruction of youth in the aims of the League. This recommends periodic conferences of Ministers of Education and directors of higher education, requests further study of international material in children's textbooks, suggests the use of broadcasting, and outlines a complete manual for teaching the aims and methods of the League in the schools.

On Dec. 31, 1930, the last day possible, Hugh Wilson, United States Minister to Switzerland, signed for

our government the protocol relating to military obligations in certain cases of double nationality which was adopted at the conference for the codification of international law held at The Hague last March. The protocol provides that "a person possessing two or more nationalities who habitually resides in one of the countries whose nationality he possesses, and who is in fact most closely connected with that country, shall be exempt from all military obligations in the other country or countries. This exemption may involve the loss of the nationality of the other country or countries." There are many thousands of persons in the United States who were born in this country of alien parents and have the nationality of their parents' countries as well as that of the United States. For many years the Department of State has been hearing the complaint of such persons because they have been summoned for military service in European countries or actually arrested while visiting those countries for temporary purposes.

Preparation is actively going forward for the general opium conference next May. The preliminary conference at London drew up tentative plans for allocating the quotas for the manufacturing countries. The advisory committee now meeting is studying the matter further. The plan involves a central office, probably at Geneva where it can be under direct League control, to supervise orders for drugs from the various countries, see that their estimate of legal requirements is not exceeded and also that the order goes to a manufacturing country whose quota is unfilled. Trouble is brewing for the conference in setting the quota for Turkey. Three manufacturing establishments producing 800 pounds of drugs per day have recently been opened at Istanbul and most of their products seem to be going to the illicit traffic. The Turkish delegation

at London asked that its government's quota should be one third of the total world requirement for medical and scientific purposes!

The work of the Greek Refugee Commission, which has been under League supervision for seven years, has been formally transferred to the Greek Government. Greece has been very grateful for the League's work

in organizing the settlement of over 1,000,000 penniless refugees and transforming them into valuable citizens fully capable of self-support. As a token of its feeling Greece conferred upon Charles B. Eddy, the American president of the commission, and Sir John Hope Simpson, its British vice president, the Grand Cross of the Order of the Phoenix.

THE UNITED STATES

THE struggle between the executive and legisla-

tive departments of the government, which is as old as the Constitution, entered a new phase, entirely without precedent in our history, early in January. This was the attempt of the Senate to recall and reconsider confirmation of nominees to the Federal Power Board who had already been approved and duly sworn in.

On Dec. 19 and 20 the Senate confirmed the nominations of the five power commissioners by generous majorities. On Dec. 23 three members of the board, Chairman George Otis Smith, Colonel Marcel Garsaud and Claude Draper, constituting a quorum, met in Washington and requested the resignation of the entire personnel of the old board, with the suggestion that they apply for reappointment. The dismissal, in this fashion, of the solicitor, Charles F. Russell, and the chief accountant, William V. King, both known to advocate stricter regulation of the power companies, was resented by certain Senators who charged that two zealous public servants had been ousted through the influence of the power interests.

When the Senate reconvened on Jan. 5 Senator Walsh of Montana immediately introduced a motion requesting the President to return the papers of confirmation of Smith, Garsaud and Draper. This action was

By D. E. WOLF

taken on the basis of an old Senate rule which provides that

the Senate may reconsider a confirmation within the next two days of actual executive session. The motion was passed on Jan. 9 by a vote of 44 to 37.

The President's reply to this request was a prompt and vigorous refusal. In a message to the Senate on Jan. 10 he declared that the appointments had been constitutionally made with the consent of the Senate and that they could not constitutionally be rescinded, concluding: "I cannot admit the power in the Senate to encroach upon the executive functions by removal of a duly appointed executive officer under the guise of reconsideration of his nomination."

In a more comprehensive statement of his position Mr. Hoover put his case squarely before the people. This document is a vindication of the sole right under the Constitution of the Executive to dismiss public officials appointed by him, except in cases of impeachment by the House. It demonstrated that where a Senate rule conflicts with the Constitution the latter must prevail. "The objective of the Senate," Mr. Hoover asserted, "constitutes an attempt to dictate to an administrative agency upon the appointment of subordinates and an attempted invasion of the authority of the Executive. These, as President,

I am bound to resist." Mr. Hoover denied that the issue in any way involved the power companies, and deplored the Senate's attempt to symbolize him as a "defender of the power interests" if he refused to sacrifice "three outstanding public servants" before they had made a single decision regarding power regulation. He recalled the fact that it was the power commission's duty to appoint their own subordinates, for whose conduct they are responsible, and reminded the people that it is incumbent upon the President to remove dishonest or inefficient officials. Mr. Hoover concluded: "I have not and shall not hesitate to exert that authority."

In the ratification or rejection of appointments by the President the Senate has always found a means of asserting its independence of the Executive. But this is the first time that the Senate had attempted to reconsider a confirmation. It will be recalled that a tenure of office act was passed over President Johnson's veto giving the Senate a voice in the removal of officials. This, however, was repealed under President Cleveland, and subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Less than a year ago the nomination of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court was rejected and that of Chief Justice Hughes imperiled in the Senate. The conflict is by no means ended. If anything, it is becoming intensified.

RELIEF MEASURES

It was, perhaps, the approach of Christmas which caused Congress to compromise with alacrity upon the two emergency relief measures before it adjourned on Dec. 20. The \$116,000,000 emergency construction fund and the \$45,000,000 drought relief bill were approved substantially as President Hoover had wanted them, after the Senate conferees had relinquished three amendments from the former bill which would have re-

stricted disposal of the money. The administration won two more victories with the passage of the \$150,000,000 appropriation for the Federal Farm Board and the Senate's confirmation of the five power commissioners.

The drought relief and emergency construction measures went through what has become virtually a stereotyped formula for the passage of controversial legislation. The House passes a bill carrying out, almost to the letter, the administration recommendations. These, meanwhile, have run the Senate gauntlet, emerging black and blue with amendments. The joint conference considers the two bills, now as different as twin sisters, one of which has been sheltered and pampered while the other has been thrust into the cruel world. Compromise is difficult; the Senate conferees decide to surrender their amendments. But the Senate rejects their report and sends the bill back to conference with instructions not to weaken. At this moment, or perhaps sooner, the President intervenes, chides the Senate, picks flaws in its amendments and demands that his recommendations be carried out. Again the House prevails in conference. The bill, stripped of amendments, is returned to both Houses, where it is passed with more or less speed depending upon how near Christmas or the end of the session happens to be. This has almost invariably been the career of President Hoover's measures since the beginning of his administration two years ago.

These two supplementary appropriations, although they loomed large in the agitation of the moment, dwindled somewhat on the skyline of the administration's employment program, when on Dec. 23 President Hoover enumerated the vast sums already being spent. For they merely add \$45,000,000 and \$116,000,000 to the \$530,455,000 already scheduled for public works in 1931, to the \$250,000,000 al-

located to the Farm Board for aid to agriculture in the next fiscal year and to the \$625,661,000 building program for 1932. Furthermore, these sums must be compared with the \$275,000,000, which was the average annual amount devoted to all these purposes during the recent era of prosperity.

A more detailed report of the projects for 1931 was submitted by Mr. Hoover on Dec. 23, according to which \$219,922,000 is being allotted to the States for road construction, national parks and forests; \$173,839,000 is reserved for new public buildings; \$159,857,000 for rivers and harbors; \$129,920,000 for ship construction, and \$30,882,000 for aircraft and other navigation. All contracts let by the government will specify that the maximum wage prevailing in the district be paid.

When Congress reconvened on Jan. 5 the bulk of its program lay still ahead and there was no indication that the many controversial bills still in the committee stage would escape the grueling treatment described above. In fact, the rift between the insurgent and "loyal" Republican factions in the Senate had been widened, meanwhile, by an incident which, although given great prominence by the press, was really no more than a very slight tempest in a Lilliputian teapot. On Dec. 19 testimony before the Nye committee investigating campaign expenses showed that Robert H. Lucas, executive secretary of the Republican National Committee, had secretly opposed the re-election of Senator Norris of Nebraska, insurgent Republican, at the last Congressional election. Mr. Lucas admitted having circulated cartoons and anti-Norris literature, but insisted that Norris, having supported Governor Smith for President in 1928, could no longer be counted a Republican. The Nebraskan Senator replied that, although he believed both major parties to be tainted by allegiance to the "power interests," he still remained a nominal

Republican who stood for the purification of his party. In this stand he was supported by other insurgents, notably Senator Borah. Senator Norris refused the invitation of Professor John Dewey to form a third "liberal" party, saying that new parties must grow out of popular demand. It was obvious, however, that neither Republican faction desired an official break, which would destroy the Republican majority in the Senate, turn over the organization of that body to the Democrats and deprive Senators Norris and Borah as well as the regular Republicans of important committee chairmanships and patronage. The net result of the dispute was another demonstration of the impossibility of approximately 320 Congressmen representing a political party supported by 15,000,000 or more voters scattered over an area of 3,000,000 square miles attaining unity on a multitude of complex issues.

One of the most troublesome of these issues, the problem of Muscle Shoals, though still far from solution, reached a half-way station on Jan. 7. When Congress adjourned in June, 1930, two radically different Muscle Shoals bills based on the opposing ideas of public and private operation of public utilities had been passed by the House and the Senate. The joint conference, which for a long time was deadlocked, finally came to an agreement early in January, which meant almost complete victory for the Senate bill. This provided that the government should operate the power plant while leasing the nitrate plants for private operation. The government would transmit the power and sell it wholesale, preferably to State and municipal corporations. Whether the capitulation of the House conferees on these points would hasten or simply delay a solution was in doubt, for the House has thus far been unalterably opposed to government operation and transmission of power, and President Hoover could not sign such a bill without altering

his repeatedly expressed convictions against government competition with private enterprise.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In response to a Senate resolution asking information on unemployment, Colonel Arthur Woods appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee on Jan. 7 and gave an estimate of the totally unemployed as between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000. He asserted, however, that the \$2,500,000,000 to be spent on public and private construction throughout the country should meet the emergency adequately. Conditions are as bad as, perhaps worse than, in 1921, Colonel Woods continued. Nevertheless, we have evolved since then, for in former depressions employers would lay off as many employes as possible and reduce wages before asking the bank for credit, while today they are discharging as few as possible and preferably those without dependents. Colonel Woods also reported that in November, 1930, about 200,000 more persons were employed in public works, Federal, State and municipal, than in November, 1929.

One index to the extent of the depression was the report on tax collections for the last six months of 1930, published on Jan. 3. Between July 1 and Dec. 31, 1930, the government received \$1,854,207,800 in revenue, which was \$223,000,000 less than in the corresponding period of 1929 and, in fact, the lowest figure for any year since the war. Personal and corporation taxes were \$1,107,307,000, a decrease of about \$78,000,000. Customs receipts were only \$201,385,000, a drop of \$101,000,000 in spite of the new tariff rates. In contrast with these figures was the report on Dec. 28 of income tax payments for 1928, the year of greatest prosperity. In that year the 495,892 corporations that filed returns paid \$1,184,142,142 on a total net income of \$10,617,741,157. Individual taxes

paid by 4,070,851 persons on a net income of \$25,226,326,912 amounted to \$1,164,254,037. An analysis of the distribution of returns showed that 75.17 per cent of the individuals who paid taxes had incomes under \$5,000. A more detailed picture is apparent in the following table:

Income Classes	Simple Distribution	
	Number	Per Cent
Under \$1,000	111,123	2.73
\$1,000 under \$2,000	918,447	22.56
\$2,000 under \$3,000	837,781	20.58
\$3,000 under \$5,000	1,192,613	29.30
\$5,000 under \$10,000	628,766	15.44
\$10,000 under \$25,000	270,889	6.66
\$25,000 under \$50,000	68,048	1.67
\$50,000 under \$100,000	27,207	.67
\$100,000 under \$150,000	7,049	.17
\$150,000 under \$300,000	5,678	.14
\$300,000 under \$500,000	1,756	.043
\$500,000 under \$1,000,000	983	.024
\$1,000,000 and over	511	.013
Total	4,070,851	100.000

RAILROAD CONSOLIDATION

The continuous decline in railroad earnings in the past ten years has made increasingly apparent the need for some sort of reorganization and consolidation. This was recognized as far back as 1920, when the transportation act was passed, instructing the Interstate Commerce Commission to work out plans for the grouping of railways into a few strong systems. But in the last decade the situation has been increasingly aggravated as two other methods of transportation have come into competition with the railroads, namely, motor buses and inland waterways. Moreover, the government has spent hundreds of millions in building new motor highways and deepening channels at the same time imposing stricter regulations on the railroads which made it even harder for them to compete. This was the argument advanced by the railroad executives in their plea for laws subjecting their rivals to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This policy was approved by the I. C. C., which recommended in its annual report to Congress, not only that such laws be passed but also that some of the re-

strictions on the railroads be modified or repealed—as, for instance, the recapture clause of the interstate commerce act which forces the railroads to return to the commission any income over 5.75 per cent on the value of their property. Reviewing the last ten years of the railroads, the report showed that in 1929 the net railway operating income available for interest and dividends was nearly 33 per cent less than in 1920, while passenger income dropped \$414,000,000 in those years. A number of relief measures were introduced in Congress, but action at this session was considered doubtful.

As to the problem of consolidation, developments during the past month suggested that a solution might be in sight. Since the transportation act of 1920, various plans have been advanced by the Interstate Commerce Commission and by the railroad executives themselves, but without any prospect of a satisfactory agreement. The chief obstacle appeared to be the inability of the four chief Eastern trunk lines to arrive at a satisfactory partition of smaller key roads.

To President Hoover the rehabilitation of the railroads appeared to be a dominant factor in the general economic recovery of the country, since with the settlement of this problem the railroads could proceed with necessary improvements, delayed by uncertainty, and this would give a corresponding stimulus to employment. Accordingly, the President in December, 1930, summoned the heads of the four Eastern trunk lines into conference, with the result that an agreement was signed on Jan. 3 by the presidents of the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Baltimore & Ohio and the Chesapeake & Ohio. Subject to approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission, this plan will consolidate the railroads of the East into four large systems, each valued at about \$2,000,000,000 and together comprising about one-fifth of the entire mileage of the country.

PROHIBITION

Congress delayed debate on prohibition in anticipation of the second report of the Wickersham Committee on Law Enforcement. Meanwhile in anti-prohibition circles a stir was caused by a legal decision which, to quote one observer, "reversed the Supreme Court" and declared the Eighteenth Amendment to have been ratified by unconstitutional means. The case itself was of no importance, but it gave United States District Judge William Clark an opportunity on Dec. 16 at Newark, N. J., of delivering what was not so much a legal opinion as an elaborate essay on constitutional government. Briefly, Judge Clark maintained that the Eighteenth Amendment, to be part of the Constitution, should have been ratified by constitutional conventions instead of by State Legislatures. Although Article V of the Constitution specifies either method, leaving the choice to Congress, it is allegedly modified by the Tenth Amendment, which states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." On this clause Judge Clark based his argument that the will of the people should be directly sought in amendments as important as the Eighteenth, and that State Legislatures do not necessarily represent the popular will on the particular issue raised. In view of the fact that the Supreme Court ruled the Eighteenth Amendment constitutional in the case of *Rhode Island vs. Palmer* in 1920 and in other "national prohibition cases," Judge Clark's decision was held by legal authorities to be futile. An appeal was filed with the Supreme Court, and on Dec. 30 a brief was presented by Solicitor General Thacher stating that Judge Clark erred and that Article V of the Constitution was entirely clear and free from ambiguity.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

THE financial and industrial crisis in Mexico largely monopolized the attention of the Mexican Government during the first half of December. The Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 2, by concurring in similar action by the Senate, gave President Ortiz Rubio extraordinary financial powers, effective until August, 1931. These are limited to the employment of public funds in the alleviation of the financial and industrial crisis that has been accompanied and aggravated by the depreciation of Mexican silver as compared with gold currency and United States exchange.

Despite this authorization, six Senators, on Dec. 5, attacked Finance Minister Montes de Oca. Their criticism centred on the charges that he had attempted to cope with the economic crisis and had recently concluded an agreement with the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico for refunding the Mexican foreign debt without disclosing his activities to or consulting with the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. The same day the Senate demanded that the Finance Minister appear before it to explain what had been his program to ameliorate the national economic crisis and why he had not put into effect a number of Presidential decrees, notably those regarding the payment of pensions.

President Ortiz Rubio, in a statement issued on Dec. 8, characterized the Senate's attacks on the Finance Minister as "unjustified," "unjust" and "unsound." He attributed them to "undisciplined elements of the National Revolutionary party." Montes de Oca's labors as Finance Minister, he said, had been "beneficial to the country" and his "every act" had been in "conformity with the program of national reconstruction." This state-

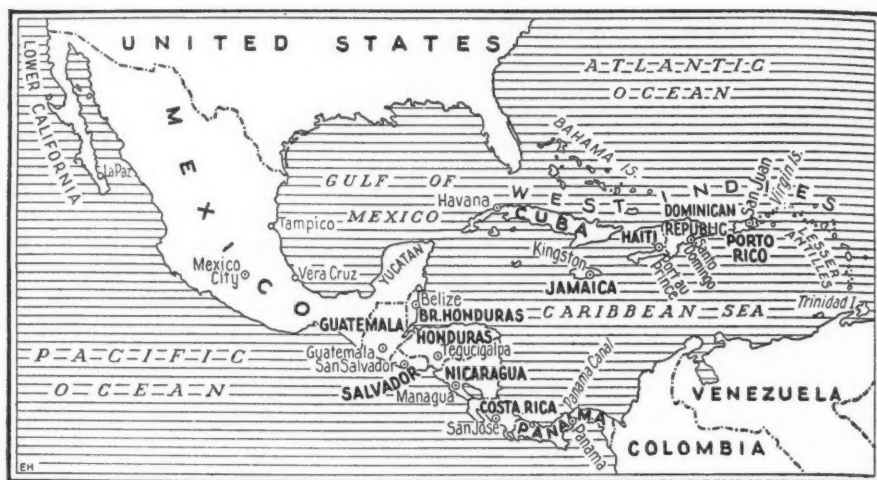
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ment created a sensation and inspired Francisco Anguiano, leader of the majority bloc in the Senate, to hasten

to explain that in criticizing alleged deficiencies in the policy of the Finance Minister the Senate had not had the remotest intention of censuring the President. On Dec. 9 four Senators who were considered the leaders in the attack on Montes de Oca were expelled from the National Revolutionary party; no attempt was made, however, to discipline the Senate as a whole. On Dec. 16 Montes de Oca, with the approval of the President, attended a special session of the Senate to answer questions regarding measures for the alleviation of the financial and economic depression. At this meeting the Finance Minister is reported to have explained existing conditions in a manner which won applause even from his critics. Apparently he convinced the Senate of his courage and capacity to put Mexico on a sound financial basis.

MEXICAN AGRARIAN LAW

The definite trend toward conservatism of the revolutionary program that was adopted in Mexico in 1917 is seen in the amendments to the Mexican agrarian law that were approved by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 12 and by the Senate on Dec. 18. These amendments, which were requested by President Ortiz Rubio as a means of giving guarantees to foreign capital in Mexico, provide, first, that additions to village communal land assignments may be made only when lands taken over from private owners for that purpose are paid for in cash at the time, and, second, that large haciendas, such as sugar plantations and dairy and fruit ranches, shall be immune from seizure and division for communal purposes. Until



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

the passage of these amendments communal lands might legally be expropriated through payment in bonds of the Mexican Government that have had face value below par. This policy, according to Secretary of Agriculture Pérez Treviño, in a statement issued on Dec. 20, while justified as a means of giving land to the peasants at the termination of the armed revolution in 1920, placed a debt of about \$400,000,000 upon the Mexican Government.

The resolution of Senator Ashurst of Arizona in the United States Senate on Jan. 5 for American purchase of Lower California and part of the State of Sonora aroused angry opposition throughout Mexico. While the proposal was not taken very seriously, indignation over it was general. Seven Mexican Senators pointed out that the Mexican Constitution expressly forbids the alienation of any territory.

General headquarters of several leading Communist organizations in Mexico City were raided by police on Dec. 20. Six leaders of the Communist movement were arrested and two truckloads of pamphlets were seized. This action followed the arrest of Communist agitators in other parts of Mexico.

(For a discussion of recent relations between Church and State in Mexico, see the article by Abbé Lukan on pages 672-675 of this issue.)

COUP D'ETAT IN GUATEMALA

Kaleidoscopic political changes took place in Guatemala in December. As a consequence of the very serious illness of President Lázaro Chacón, the Council of Ministers on Dec. 13 vested the second Presidential designate, Baudillo Palma, with executive powers. Three days later President Hoover acknowledged receipt of a communication from Acting President Palma advising of his assumption of executive power. This, it was pointed out by the Department of State on Dec. 18, did not constitute recognition, which, it was explained, was not called for in the circumstances of Acting President Palma's accession to power. Meanwhile, on Dec. 17 a coup d'état in the Guatemalan capital overthrew the Palma Government and installed General Manuel Orellana as Provisional President. Among those killed was Dr. Mauro De Leon, Minister of War and First Presidential Designate under the administration of President Chacón. On the next day Con-

gress issued a manifesto stating that "the Congress considers the critical period over and calls attention to its satisfaction over the fact that the recent political difficulties resulted in a minimum of bloodshed." The document bore the signatures of the representatives in Guatemala of Mexico, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the United States, who, as unofficial observers, had been invited to attend the Congressional conferences for the re-establishment of peace.

In a statement to the Associated Press on Dec. 20, Provisional President Orellana accused former Acting President Palma of "taking advantage of his kinship to the President [Chacón]" to start "a vast intrigue aiming at placing the country under the control of the Conservative party," and by using coercion of obtaining "the necessary legalization from Congress to assume the reins of government." Señor Orellana also charged that it was unconstitutional for the Council of Ministers, in the circumstances, to call upon any one but the first designate to assume executive powers. The Provisional President characterized Señor Palma's act as "the equivalent of a coup d'état" and stated that the army, in these circumstances, "had no other alternative but to force Palma to live up to the spirit and the letter of the Constitution."

Secretary of State Stimson on Dec. 22 announced that the United States would adhere to its policy of supporting the Central American treaty of 1923 by not recognizing governments which come into power in Central America by force. This was qualified further by the statement that the Department of State was "trying to ascertain the facts in regard to what happened in Guatemala in order that we may intelligently act under our policy initiated by Secretary Hughes in respect to the treaty made by the five Central American republics in 1923." The decision of the State Department not to recognize the Orellana régime was

reached after advice had been sought from the United States Legation in Guatemala, and this decision was made known on Dec. 30. The next day, after the formal resignation of President Chacón and Provisional President Orellana, the Guatemalan National Congress elected Dr. Reina Andrade as Provisional President. On Jan. 8 the American Minister at Guatemala City extended formal recognition to the government of President Andrade. This was apparently a direct result of the announcement that Presidential elections would be held on Feb. 6, 7 and 8.

President Chacón assumed executive powers in Guatemala for a six-year term beginning in 1926. Señor Manuel Orellana, who served as Provisional President for two weeks, is a cousin of General José M. Orellana, who overthrew a Conservative Government in 1922 and subsequently served as President of Guatemala until his death in 1926, at which time General Chacón succeeded as first designate and later as constitutionally elected President. Provisional President Andrade is a member of the Liberal party, a former member of Congress, and a former Minister of Justice.

GUERRILLA WARFARE IN NICARAGUA

Guerrilla warfare became increasingly serious in Nicaragua toward the end of the year. On Dec. 10 it was reported officially that during November eleven contacts between bandits and patrols of the National Guard had resulted in the killing of five bandits and four guardsmen, and eighteen bandits and one guardsman were wounded. Seventeen bandit camps and thirteen houses used by the bandits were destroyed and large supplies of their ammunition and food were captured. Three days later a National Guard patrol fought and defeated 200 bandits in the Department of Jinotega; in this engagement

four bandits and one guardsman were killed.

President Moncada in his address at the opening of the Nicaraguan Congress on Dec. 16 declared that the bandit situation was not as bad as generally believed and attacked the contention of the bandit chiefs that they were fighting for national pride and patriotism. On Dec. 31, however, Sandinista insurgents attacking from ambush between Ocotal and Apari killed eight United States marines and wounded two others. In the same general region on Jan. 3 Sandinistas again attacked, killing two United States marines and seriously wounding two others. A report issued on that day at National Guard headquarters placed the number of insurgents killed in encounters with the marines during the preceding three days at nine. The insurgents were reported to be well armed and fighting with machine guns. This attack on American marines revived in the American Senate the old opposition to the presence of marines in Nicaragua. Senator Johnson of California on Jan. 5 introduced a resolution in the Senate calling for detailed information concerning the relations of the United States with Nicaragua. Meanwhile, President Moncada had stated his opposition to the withdrawal of the United States marines from his country.

REVOLUTION IN PANAMA

With a dramatic suddenness comparable to the events by which Panama became independent in 1903, a revolution on Jan. 2, 1931, overthrew the constitutional administration of President Florencio Harmodio Arosemena. Within a few hours measures had been adopted to assure the early restoration of constitutional order. The rebellion was sponsored by a patriotic organization known as the *Accional Communal* which has been violent in its criticism of alleged corruption of the government under Pres-

ident Chiari, whose term ended two years ago, and President Arosemena.

The rebellion began at about 2:30 A. M. on Jan. 2, when, without warning, 100 men stormed the headquarters of the National Police—Panama's substitute for a standing army. At the same time another body took possession of the National Palace, after slight resistance, confining President Arosemena and several other government officials in the building. In the attacks ten persons were killed, including eight members of the constabulary and two civilians, and fifteen others were wounded. H. F. Ayers, an American newspaper man, died afterward from his wounds.

After conferences between the President and the leaders of the movement, President Arosemena appointed Dr. Harmodio Arias as Premier of his Cabinet and then resigned as President. Arias was then at liberty to organize a new Cabinet. The Supreme Court the same day handed down a decision to the effect that the election of the first, second and third designates last October was illegal. Since Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panaman Minister to the United States, was elected first designate for a two-year term ending on Oct. 1, 1930, he became through the default of a constitutionally elected first designate last October the legal successor of President Arosemena. Late the same day the Supreme Court, after administering the oath of office to Harmodio Arias as Provisional President, notified Dr. Alfaro in Washington that he was called to assume the executive power.

Panama was reported quiet on Jan. 3 as though there had been no change in the government. The same day Provisional President Arias expressed the opinion that recognition by foreign powers was not necessary, since the change of government was entirely constitutional. In Washington Secretary of State Stimson is reported to have indicated that the

Panaman situation was too complex for any immediate decision.

DISORDER AND UNREST IN CUBA

On Dec. 11, amid rioting of students, President Machado issued a proclamation suspending constitutional guarantees until Feb. 8, 1931. This action was declared officially to have been "merely a means to insure peace in Cuba during these weeks when trouble seems to have increased." The suspension of guarantees in Cuba—the second time that this had occurred in less than one month—affects six articles of the Cuban Constitution, namely, inviolability of the home, freedom of speech, right to a hearing within twenty-four hours after arrest, immunity of mail and private documents, privilege of changing residence at will, and right of assembly.

On Dec. 12 a censorship on the transmission of messages in Cuba was imposed by President Machado; censors were instructed, however, not to interfere with either outgoing or incoming international news. Six days later the *Diario de la Marina*, Cuba's oldest newspaper, was suppressed by order of the Department of the Interior and its news editor, Aldo Baroni, was confined in the Cabañas military prison. This action was vigorously assailed as unconstitutional and unwarranted by Dr. Rafael María Angulo, President of the Press Association, and also by the Havana Reporters Association.

In contrast to the suspension of constitutional guarantees on Nov. 13, that of Dec. 11 did not have the desired pacifying effects. By Dec. 14 the movement of protest against the administration of President Machado was reported to have gained momentum. A referendum was taken of the leading business and professional organizations of Havana to decide whether those groups should support the demands of the teachers, students and alumni of the National

University that President Machado resign. A special meeting of the Workers National Confederation of Havana was called to vote on the question. The effort to align organized labor against the government failed, and on Dec. 19 a majority of the Cuban labor organizations notified President Machado of their willingness to cooperate with him in maintaining peace. Their offer was accepted and the President, in turn, promised his support in the solution of pending labor problems.

A nation-wide campaign for the arrest of persons who had signed a document drafted by students and teachers of the National University, in which the resignations of President Machado and his Cabinet were demanded, was begun by the government on Dec. 14. Many of the signers are prominent lawyers, physicians and politicians. During the next few days numerous persons were arrested throughout the island and on Dec. 16, by Presidential decree, the National University was closed for an indefinite period. On Dec. 14, also, official announcement was made that all teachers in the university and the high schools who had signed the document would be dismissed and their accrued salaries withheld; this threat was carried out. On Dec. 25 approximately 100 public school instructors, teachers in the normal schools and the National University who had been dismissed from office and whose salaries had been seized by President Machado adopted a resolution declaring that they would not accept any government, provincial or municipal position under the Machado Administration. Meanwhile near-panics had been caused in Havana on Dec. 18, 19 and 21 by the explosion of bombs throughout the city, in or near public buildings and on principal streets. The explosions on Dec. 19 occurred almost simultaneously in widely separated parts of the city; those of Dec. 21 occurred in

three leading theatres and all of them caused panics in which several men and women were injured. As late as Dec. 28 students were continuing to harass the police and to excite the public by setting off small bombs in various parts of the city. The threat of severe punishment for those found guilty proved wholly ineffective.

A new development in the Cuban disorders was the disclosure on Jan. 6 of a plot to destroy the sugar cane fields. Several plantations were swept by fire on Jan. 7 and these fires were believed to be part of a general plan to destroy cane plantations and sugar mills before the beginning of the grinding season.

The disorders and political unrest in Cuba during December received the close attention of the United States Government. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Dec. 3 agreed that it would be unwise to countenance any discussion in Congress of possible intervention in Cuba under the so-called Platt amendment, which, as incorporated in the Cuban Constitution, defines the relations of the United States toward Cuba. This amendment authorizes the United States "to intervene for Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." Secretary of State Stimson on Dec. 12 reiterated his statement of

last October that the Hoover Cuban policy would be to interpret the Platt amendment as not calling for intervention by the United States in domestic political events in Cuba or for the taking of sides by the United States in Cuban partisan developments. This is the so-called "restrictive policy" that was adopted by Secretary Root in 1901, during the administration of President McKinley. That the Cuban Government at about the same time was disappointed in this policy and even looked with some favor upon possible intervention is shown by the following statement, made on behalf of the government on Dec. 16 by Acting Secretary of Education Molinet: "Peace throughout the republic or intervention."

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts on Dec. 16 asked the Senate for an investigation of reports of grave conditions in Cuba arising from repressive measures alleged to have been taken as a consequence of the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Cuba. This move was blocked, however, by Senator Jones of Washington, who invoked a rule of the Senate forbidding the Senate to consider conditions in foreign countries without the request of the Executive. In this connection Senator Walsh and Senator King of Utah expressed themselves in favor of repealing the so-called Platt amendment.

SOUTH AMERICA

THE outstanding event of the month in South America was the commemoration on Dec.

17 of the centenary of the death of Simón Bolívar, "The Liberator." Not only in the five "Bolivarian republics" (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru), which owe their independence primarily to Bolívar, but throughout America, and even in Eu-

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rope, appropriate ceremonies were held. At San Pedro Alejandrino, near Santa Marta, where Bolívar died,

President Olaya Herrera of Colombia paid tribute to his memory and announced that a great monument would be erected in his honor. In Caracas, his native city, President Pérez of Venezuela attended exercises in formal dedication of the National



SOUTH AMERICA

Pantheon, in which rest the ashes of Bolívar. At Washington tribute to Bolívar was paid by Secretary of State Stimson in a special session of the governing board of the Pan American Union, at which messages from the Presidents of the American countries were read, while in the Senate, Senator Bingham delivered an address on the Liberator. An international gesture of related interest was the unveiling in Caracas on Dec. 5 of the statue of Henry Clay, presented by the Government of the United States, which had its parallel in the presentation some years ago by the Government of Venezuela of the statue of Bolívar which stands in Central Park in New York City.

Bolívar died, broken in health, disappointed and to a great extent disillusioned, after a relatively brief life of fifty-seven years, of which the last twenty were devoted to the struggle for independence and for stable government in the countries he had freed. In his proclamation of resignation, issued less than a year before his

death, he declared: "My only ambition has been to contribute to your liberty and to the conservation of peace." In the interests of stability he had been willing to compromise even with the principles he had previously held most dear. José Enrique Rodó, in his essay on Bolívar, says that he lived the last brief span of his days "in doubt as to the value of his work and in despair over the destiny of America."

It would be interesting to speculate on Bolívar's state of mind, were he to come back to the scene where he played so glamorous and yet so sad a rôle, as he contemplated the developments of the intervening century and the political conditions of today. That there has been improvement over the Spanish colonial system no one can reasonably doubt; whether the advance in self-government has been in proportion with the opportunity is a matter for discussion. In any event, that is another story.

From the standpoint of democracy, certainly, the picture at the present moment in South America, as in most of the rest of the world, is disheartening. A cursory glance reveals that four governments, including those of the two largest countries in South America, hold power as the result of revolutions. Others are practically dictatorships. All are struggling, as manfully as may be, against the ills that afflict the world today—against economic depression, against political unrest at one end of the scale and political apathy at the other, and, worst of all, against a psychological state that seems to be far more depressed than economic or political conditions justify. The picture in South America is no worse than elsewhere, though a few of its aspects may be peculiar to that part of the globe. Business depression, decline in foreign trade, low prices for commodities upon which the economic structure of the respective countries rests, individual financial difficulties

and bankruptcies, financial stringency, unemployment, labor troubles, decline in the value of currency, inability to meet interest payments or maturing loans—these are familiar economic ills in South America as in other continents. In the political field we find another familiar group—unrest, at times breaking out into disorder, plots against the government, radical agitation and rumors of "Red" activity, a tendency to play personal or party politics with the situation, election disorders and charges of graft, bribery and corruption in the government. Yet amid all this there is an occasional ray of light in South American affairs.

Of the four countries ruled by successful revolutionary groups—Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil—Bolivia has taken the first step toward the restoration of constitutional government. On Jan. 4 national elections were held which resulted in the election as president of Dr. Daniel Salamanca, the only Presidential candidate. Reports indicated that Dr. José Luis Tejada, supported by the Liberal-Republican coalition, had been elected Vice President, defeating Dr. Bautista Saavedra, leader of the so-called Personalist Republicans, almost two to one. The single-ticket coalition under which Dr. Ismael Montes and Dr. Saavedra were to have been joint candidates for the two Vice Presidencies broke down as the result of political difficulties. Dr. Montes withdrew and the military junta decreed that only one Vice President should be elected. Dr. Saavedra charged during the campaign that Colonel Mariaca Pando, Minister of the Interior, had acted in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the Saavedra group in violation of the pledge of impartiality made by the military junta. The junta denied this in a statement on Dec. 23. According to reports, the election was marred by the murder of a candidate for the National Assembly during

disturbances in some of the provinces.

Dr. Salamanca, the new President, is a man of lofty character, universally respected. He faces a serious economic situation as Bolivia owes approximately \$60,000,000 to foreign bankers and on Jan. 1 was compelled to default on the 7 per cent loan of 1927 made by American bankers. A commission is now in New York discussing with bankers arrangements for revision of the service of this debt. It is reported that bankers are critical of the large amount spent by the Ministry of War and Colonization—reported to total more than 20 per cent of the expenses of the government. Largely owing to the fall in the price of tin and the consequent decline in export duties the budget is threatened with a deficit of serious proportions. Business houses are in difficulties and the banks have been accused of over-conservatism in their handling of business loans. To bring Bolivia through this crisis will necessitate a high order of political and economic judgment.

It is likely that Argentina will be the next to hold elections, announcement being made on Dec. 16 that general elections would be held in March following the completion of the new electoral registers. It is reported that provincial elections would be held in May in those provinces which are least disturbed by the revolution, followed by the others as rapidly as normal conditions are restored. An indication of the good faith of the government is the declaration of President Uriburu, in an address after a review of the troops on Dec. 19, that "the military forces of the nation must remain isolated from political parties and activities." Their services, he said, belong to the nation. In economic matters a definite effort is being made to put the finances of the government on a sound basis. The government has announced its determination to keep expenditures within the limits of receipts. For this

purpose it created a permanent budget committee on Dec. 20, with duties similar to those of the Bureau of the Budget in the United States.

In an effort to aid unemployment Argentina has adopted a policy of discouraging immigration by increasing the fee for visas required for entrance into the country. This is expected to cut down materially the movement of Europeans, especially Spaniards, to Argentina to work as harvesters. This action follows that of Brazil in cutting off immigration entirely. The peso continues to decline despite efforts to control exchange through the Bank of the Nation. The government, however, is studying a plan for a reform in the national financial structure, providing for the establishment of a central bank and a new currency system. The new bank would have functions as a discount bank, similar to those of the Federal Reserve System of the United States, and would also be a bank of issue. One of the most serious problems of the government is the funding of the floating debt, which amounts to more than \$500,000,000. According to a report issued on Jan. 1 bankruptcies in Argentina during 1930 exceeded all previous records, the amount involved being \$97,000,000, as compared with \$70,000,000 in 1929 and \$63,000,000 in 1928. An unusually good wheat crop is forecast, exceeding the average for the last five years and involving an increase of about 66 per cent over last year.

Students in Buenos Aires began a strike on Dec. 14 as a protest against the action of the provincial government in appointing a director with power to select faculty members instead of their being elected in part by the students. Serious rioting, marked by the wrecking of the medical school, street fights and the seizure of the law school building, took place.

A violent earthquake on Dec. 25 at

La Poma in the Andes took the lives of some forty people and made many homeless. It was one of the most serious volcanic disturbances of the year.

The new government of Brazil is still making efforts to prevent a decline in Brazilian exchange. Rigid economies are being practiced in all departments of the government and embargoes are being placed on the importation of luxuries in an effort to maintain a favorable trade balance. In an interview on Dec. 25, President Vargas referred to the difficulties which face his administration, with all business suffering from depression and with the government-owned industries facing large deficits. One of the great problems is, of course, the coffee situation, on which the government has called a conference for March. In time, doubtlessly, the coffee market will recover from the effects of the Coffee Institute program.

In an effort to relieve unemployment the Minister of Labor issued a decree on Dec. 13 suspending immigration to Brazil for one year, beginning Jan. 1, 1931. Another decree provides that foreign companies must have Brazilian-born employes to the extent of two-thirds of their payrolls. Unemployed laborers from Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are being sent to the interior at government expense for colonization of farms and work in the mines.

In Peru the military junta is trying to reduce expenses by elimination of public works items that are not urgent, reduction of the personnel in embassies, a 50 per cent cut in certain pensions and salary reductions of 10 to 25 per cent for government employes. The most hopeful element in the financial situation is the prospect of a reorganization of the Peruvian financial structure by a commission of American financial experts headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton.

The disorders of some weeks ago in the Cerro de Pasco mining region, which had a somewhat anti-foreign tinge, were paralleled in Lima on Jan. 4, when rioting occurred in the stadium at Lima after an international football match in which a Uruguayan team defeated a Peruvian team from Arequipa. During the disorders five lives were lost. Whether the trouble was due mainly to ill-feeling against Uruguay—it will be recalled that relations between Peru and Uruguay were severed in September and only resumed in November—or to the old enmity against the police, who were the strongest support of the Leguía régime, is not clear. Colonel Sánchez Cerro, the head of the junta, has refused to accept the resignation of the Minister of the Interior, offered as a result of the disorders.

The National Sanctions Court, after an investigation of charges against the deposed President, Augusto B. Leguía, and his three sons, on Jan. 8 sentenced the defendants to reimburse the national treasury to the extent of 25,000,000 soles (about \$7,625,000) for "illegal enrichment" during the Leguía régime. It was charged among other things that Juan Leguía received a large commission from a New York banking house with which Peru placed a loan. A statement by the Minister of Finance on Dec. 18 pointed out that the foreign debt had increased from about \$12,250,000 in 1919 to about \$150,000,000 in 1929.

On the whole, the revolutionary governments or their successors, in these four countries, will undoubtedly have their hands full for months to come. Their chief problems, perhaps, will be those of maintenance of order, economy and efficiency in governmental operations, balanced budgets, payment of foreign debts and new financing, and relief of the burdens of business depression and unemploy-

ment from which their peoples are suffering.

Similar problems face the executives of the other South American countries, though in varying degree.

Early in December a plot to assassinate President Carlos Ibáñez of Chile by dynamiting a bridge over the Maipo River as the Presidential train was passing over it, failed. Fifteen persons, including a number of students and a professor in the School of Arts and Crafts were arrested. They will be tried by the civil courts. Unemployment is apparently less serious in Chile than in other South American countries. The Chilean Consul General in New York is preparing to repatriate those of his fellow-countrymen who are unemployed, with the expectation that work will be found for them at home. On Jan. 7 it was announced that by the beginning of 1932 municipal elections would be re-established in Chile, provided the new municipal code is accepted by Congress. At present municipal officials are appointed by the President.

The results of the election in Uruguay are still indefinite. A report from Montevideo on Dec. 22 said that the final decision might not be made until March, when the Senate convenes. The Nationalist party charges fraud and irregularities in the elections, and as this party has control of the Senate, which is the final judge of elections, trouble may result in March.

In Paraguay the Minister of War, speaking for the officers of the army, informed President Guggiari on New Year's Day that the officers are opposed to the present dictatorship, but tolerate it on account of abnormal conditions. He declared that the army desired laws and energetic application of them in order that peace and security might prevail throughout the whole country.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN London the Round-Table Conference on India, in spite of stops and starts and crises, continued to be of sufficient importance to push other British and imperial affairs into the background. Two factors contributed to give its deliberations somewhat of an atmosphere of unreality. In India itself the extremists, who were not represented at the conference, were either in jail (the official total averages 30,000) or promoting disorders. There were riots in Bombay and Karachi on Dec. 5; the Bengal Government offices in Calcutta were raided on Dec. 8, and one English official was killed, another wounded; on Dec. 9 an English military officer was killed on parade in Lahore; further riots occurred in Bombay on the 12th; and on the 23d in Lahore the Governor of the Punjab was shot at and wounded by a Hindu medical student. After further unrest in Northern India and a bomb explosion in the central railway station at Delhi on Dec. 26, the recently expired press censorship was reimposed. Further riots occurred in Bombay on Dec. 31.

In England, Winston Churchill continued to offer himself as a leader for the reactionary group. Early in December he made a slashing attack on the conference, saying that "the British people have no intention whatever of relinquishing their effective control on India," and promising defeat to conference concessions when they should come before Parliament. His views were attributed by J. H. Thomas to an attack of indigestion. Actually, however, his opposition seemed almost to be nullified by the failure of his own (Conservative) party to unite in his support, by moderate proposals from the European population in India and from the Viceroy, and most

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of all by the outspoken support of leaders of the Liberal party in Great Britain. Lord Reading, a former Viceroy, forecast Liberal support for concessions on Dec. 15, and on Jan. 5 he seemed to assure home rule for India when he pledged his party's support for the constitutional formula agreed upon by the Round Table. This change of mind, for originally Lord Reading favored the Simon recommendations of mere partial provincial autonomy, was attributed to the decision of the Indian Princes to support British India's demand for federal self-government. Lord Reading's only reservations on full responsible parliamentary self-government related to defense, foreign affairs, and partially to finance. His speech won a large measure of support, at least among the Indians in London.

A further hopeful sign was the royal approval on Dec. 20 of the appointment of the popular Canadian Governor General, Viscount Willingdon, as the new Viceroy. He had been for eleven years an acceptable Governor of Madras and is the fifth person to hold both the Canadian and the Indian office. In India the hope was expressed that he would adhere to the Canadian ideal rather than to his previous Indian attitude.

No explicit plan for Indian government has yet acquired official character, but in main outline dyarchy seems doomed and a loose federal structure assured for all India, or better, for British India (less Burma) and whatever Indian States or group of States wish to enter the proposed federation. Lord Sankey's subcommittee, reporting on Dec. 12, outlined the type of bicameral federal legislature it favored, and the powers which should belong to it. While details remain to be agreed upon, the main gov-



THE BRITISH EMPIRE

ernmental structure is analogous to that of the United States Congress. Mr. Henderson's subcommittee on the provincial legislatures reported on Dec. 15 with less agreement on details and on completeness of self-government, but it was generally held that the character of the federal legislature must have its effect on those of the States. Lord Sankey's good sense recognized the necessity of speed and of concessions that would win a useful amount of support in India.

A fuller outline of the proposed Constitution for India was given on Jan. 12, when Lord Sankey summed up the findings of his subcommittee. There is to be an upper house of 100 elected not directly by the people but by the Provincial Legislatures, and a lower house of probably 250. The representatives of the native States in both chambers would at first be the nominees of the Princes and their councils. There would be a modified form of the British system of Ministerial responsibility to the Legislature.

Two serious but secondary problems still hampered the conference. It was early agreed that Burma must be separated from India to facilitate the Indian reforms, and equal constitutional treatment was promised. Opinion in Burma is divided and apprehensive of slower constitutional ad-

vance than in India, and it is recognized that arrangements of military, commercial, and financial nature must subsist between the two. Settlement of Burmese affairs was, however, postponed on Dec. 9 to a later conference. In the last week of December riots accompanied a tax-resisting campaign in Burma (the rice market is depressed), and were attributed to systematic raids. An expedition sent out to deal with the raiders ultimately concentrated on the stronghold of their leader, and after a series of skirmishes captured it on Jan. 2. Meanwhile the prevailing economic unrest was reflected in Burmese-Chinese fights in the streets of Rangoon.

The second great problem is that of Hindu and Moslem minorities in the various parts of India. It might be said that upon its settlement any scheme of Indian Government depends. Certainly it has provoked most of the talk and argument in the conference, and for eight weeks Mr. MacDonald has devoted his talents to securing workable compromises. Relations between the Hindus and Moslems broke down in late November, but have been painfully and laboriously restored. Sir Tej Sapru on the Hindu side separated himself from any party affiliation in order to discuss the matter independently, but it was difficult to induce the Agha Khan or

the representatives of Bengal and Punjab (where alone Moslems are in majority) to enter on conversations, until Mr. MacDonald formed an informal committee of his own on Dec. 10. Deadlock ensued on Dec. 14 at a week-end at Chequers, following urgent telegrams from both parties in India. The conference was then forced to abandon private conversations and appoint a subcommittee to thresh out all the problems of minorities and franchises. The leaders of conciliation, the Moslem Jinnah and the Hindu Sapru, refused to serve (because they were in agreement) and left the argument to the less daring. The two women delegates, the Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Subbarayan made eloquent appeals for peace on Dec. 22. On Jan. 4 Maulana Muhammad Ali, until 1930 the leader of the revolutionary Khilafatist Moslems, died in London after dictating a farewell message of peace to the conference. On Jan. 6 the Moslems, in spite of the dangers of their total minority position, were reported to be giving way in the matter of separate electorates. Any simple mathematical compromise would be unfair to the Moslems, who are only 70,000,000 in a population of 250,000,000. Interesting sidelights were the demands for universal male and female suffrage, technically an amazing proposal for so great a population.

BRITISH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Domestic affairs in Great Britain must seem tame in contrast with the Indian drama, but behind the posturings of party politicians the country and its people labor in the difficulties of severe economic depression. The engineers' trial in Moscow with its vague evidence of British "intervention" caused some excitement and a protest by the British Ambassador early in December, but more real was the resentment aroused by the broad-casting of an anti-war and propagandist address in English by the

Moscow station of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The Soviet Ambassador implied that the incident would not be repeated, but the incident continued to agitate the Commons.

More exciting and important have been the shifts and splits in the three parties and the flood of manifestoes following Sir Oswald Mosely's appeal on Dec. 7 for a Cabinet dictatorship of five. At least three groups are visible in the Conservative party, shading from the Diehards under Churchill to the middle moderates now committed to retaliatory tariffs by Baldwin, and to the open-minded youthful group headed by Horne. The Liberals have split, with Sir John Simon's group supporting the Conservatives while Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel lead the rest behind MacDonald because they fear him less than Baldwin. The Prime Minister has had his hands full in keeping Maxton and the Left wing in line and in comparing Mosely's vigor with the relative emptiness of his proposals. The Lords are resolutely Tory and almost upset the government by their skill in maintaining protection for the British dye industry for another twelve months. The Whitechapel by-election saw a Labor majority reduced from 9,180 to 1,099. In these circumstances there has emerged an alliance (framed almost casually during question time in the House of Commons) of Liberals and Labor on the tenuous basis of a bargain, that in response to the government's introduction of electoral reform, chiefly in the form of the Liberal device of the alternative vote, the Liberals will back Labor in forcing repeal of the Conservative trades disputes act which was passed after the general strike. This alliance has succeeded thus far, but inasmuch as it must survive until late 1933 to achieve its ends by nullifying the veto of the Lords, many things may happen to bring it to an end. It is now expected to survive at least until Snowden's budget in April.

The government has withdrawn its bill to enforce school attendance until the age of 15 and has been forced to accept prolongation of dye-stuffs protection. It is now staking its future on its trades disputes bill. The *London Times* dubbed it "A General Strike Enabling Bill" and it has been generally criticized for its obscurity. The bill is drawn up almost entirely in terms of reference to other legislation, but it provides a definition of the legality of strikes and lockouts, strengthens the party financially by making contracting out of paying trade union political funds legal instead of contracting in, restores to civil servants and municipal employees the right to join unions, and once more makes modified peaceful picketing legal. Criticism has been directed to the strike legality clause because of the use of the word "primary" in determining the character of a strike. Obviously it is extremely difficult to differentiate between the original and the developed character of a strike.

Unemployment has continued to provide the usual opportunity for differences of opinion. No party could abolish the British social services now, but the Conservatives claim that free trade and heavy tax burdens are responsible for the depressed condition of British industry. The total number of unemployed has fluctuated between 2,286,460 on Nov. 24 and 2,305,639 on Dec. 29. It is calculated that unemployment insurance now costs \$535,000,000 a year, of which \$225,000,000 is contributed by employers and employed, \$110,000,000 is the legal exchequer contribution and \$200,000,000 is borrowed. The general record over the past is, of course, by no means so bad and Great Britain has no breadlines. No really important suggestion was made during two full dress debates on the system and the government postponed a showdown by the familiar device of a royal commission, under Mr. Justice Gregory. More serious is the discontent of the Trades Union Council, which fears that the

government is going to segregate the unemployables by dividing relief into two categories of those who have and have not exhausted their insurance benefits. The council does not hesitate to declare that it wants one scheme embracing all classes of workers. Minister of Labor Margaret Bonfield has been firm in insisting that the unemployed accept alternative work to their own trades.

Another cloud in the sky, merging as it did with increased governmental deficits and decreased export and import trade, was the appearance of two serious strike threats. The miners of England, Scotland and South Wales are approaching the time (July, 1931) when it will be illegal to work more than seven hours a day. It will, however, be legal to reduce wages and the owners propose to do so. Since November dress rehearsals of the coming strike have been going on over interim arrangements. The miners refuse to accept wage cuts and the operators respond with intricate schemes of fortnightly terms of hours and days—the so-called "spread over." At present the result is that 145,000 miners are out of work in South Wales with the danger of sympathetic strikes in Scotland and Lancashire and the certainty of trouble after July. On Dec. 9 there was set up the statutory Coal Mines Reorganization Commission, whose main task is the amalgamation of mine properties. The other strike threat is in the cotton textile field. A few operators began in late November a campaign to increase the number of looms per worker from four to six, eight or ten. The operatives promised a walk-out on Jan. 5 and the next day the operatives countered with the threat of a lockout.

CANADIAN WHEAT

The dominant news of the day in Canada is the price of wheat, which fell in December to 50 cents and has since recovered only about half the way toward 60 cents. The vigorous Mr. Bennett, who failed to secure im-

perial preferences at the Imperial Conference, and who is now matching tariffs blow for blow with the world, has been casting about for arrangements for the relief of the Western farmer. His task is not an enviable one, but he has avoided government-pegged prices long enough for the West to split over such proposals. In their place he has promised Dominion credits to prevent forced liquidation and plans a large private corporation made up of the interests secondary to agriculture (banks, railways, &c.) to extend loans to farmers. He has arranged the sale of 9,000,000 bushels of wheat to France and negotiations are under way for a system of credits to enable China to purchase still larger quantities. In spite of these efforts the West is depressed and exasperated and the voice of the old-line political radical is heard in the land.

Finance and industry, on the other hand, have come through the depression remarkably well; yet the prosperity of Canada still depends too much on agriculture, for its woes not to be nation-wide. One of Mr. Bennett's own supporters has recently embarrassed him by proposing to repeal the legislation prohibiting liquor exports from Canada to the United States. In hard times the loss of revenue and the expenditure of public money to aid in enforcing a foreign law seem unreasonable, and anyway the flow has not stopped, but only shifted its base to French St. Pierre and Miquelon. Proposed changes in United States immigration regulations and the actual tightening of technical restrictions provoked apprehension in Canada, and border regulations were once more the subject of conversations between the two governments.

A review of the year's trade showed less than expected effects from the decline in prices, but there are some noticeable results of Russian competition in wheat, lumber and wood-products, and in furs. These have stimulated requests for counter-action. It

seems unlikely that, at a time when unemployment is so great a concern, the St. Lawrence development programs will be allowed to remain in the quiescence to which Mr. Bennett consigned them before going to London. Various agencies, both in Canada and in the United States, are at present active in the matter, but as yet no official discussion has begun. The same preliminary manoeuvres characterized the quest for a successor to Lord Willingdon as Governor General. G. H. Ferguson, former Prime Minister of Ontario, after an amusing if indiscreet speech about his new duties, went to London as Canadian High Commissioner, but no new Minister was so far appointed to Washington to replace Mr. Massey. A trade treaty between Canada and Australia awaited the ratification of the two Parliaments. It represents the remnant of things hoped for at the Imperial Conference.

AUSTRALIAN ECONOMIC REFORM

Australia has been facing the necessity for severe economic reform with a great deal of internal and party strife, but with excellent resolution. Her position was impaired by extensive foreign indebtedness and her chief commodities (wool and wheat) were hard hit by the decline in prices. The remedies have not been original, consisting in prohibition of immigration, the raising of a high tariff wall and a domestic conversion loan. The chief threat to a return to stability lay in the Labor party's preference for inflation rather than retrenchment. Fortunately the conversion loan was a complete success, being oversubscribed and yielding about \$150,000,000. With this in hand the Federal Government has acted more confidently while awaiting Mr. Scullin's return from London. The struggle between the extremists in the Labor caucus who are anxious to create internal credits and other Australian politicians who demand balanced budget has been a

lively one, but the acting Treasurer, Mr. Lyon, has already done a good deal to popularize the more conservative financial policy. It was freely predicted that a Labor split would result in a new orientation of parties, and there were abundant opportunities for disagreement in public finance, proposals for price-fixing, the new export and import duties and proposed income and capital levies. The arrival of Premier Scullin at Perth, Western Australia, from London on Jan. 6 coincided with the announcement that there were 200,000 unemployed in Australia and the forecast of Health Minister Frank Anstey that the present financial position of the government was leading to national bankruptcy. The Prime Minister, however, was not so pessimistic and brought

back surprising enthusiasm from his experiences at the Imperial Conference.

General Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa and leader of the Nationalist party, created a profound impression by signaling his return from the Imperial Conference with a series of anti-republican speeches. He appreciated the consternation among his Afrikaner supporters but was determined to turn them from interest in what he holds to be settled constitutional issues to the achievement of unity for white South Africa. This may portend his return to the native problem, but it promises to weaken his party further and perhaps afford broader opportunities to General Smuts.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

THE Steeg Cabinet, which put an end on Dec. 13 to the Ministerial crisis caused by the Senate on Dec. 4, began its career under far more auspicious circumstances.

Egged on by the Conservative and Nationalist press the Tardieu supporters in the Chamber clamored for an immediate overthrow of the new Cabinet, but failed in their attempt. On his first appearance on Dec. 18 M. Steeg received a meager majority of seven. The partisan spirit both in Parliament and outside was at fever heat, and M. Steeg, taking a leaf from the book of his predecessor, decided to dismiss Parliament for the Christmas recess until Jan. 13, thereby gaining for his Cabinet at least one month of life.

The new Ministry, which statisticians call the eighty-sixth of the Third Republic, does not seem to deserve, on the ground of its composition at least, the reproach of weakness that has

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been hurled at it from all sides. While M. Steeg has not the brilliant and aggressive personality of M. Tardieu, he is far from being an inexperienced statesman. Son of a Deputy of Gironde, himself a Professor of Philosophy and a lawyer, Theodore Steeg has held portfolios, since he entered Parliament in 1905, at least eight different times. From 1921 to 1925 he was Governor General of Algiers, and from 1925 to 1928 Resident General of Morocco in succession to Marshal Lyautey.

His Cabinet seems likewise not entirely bereft of knowledge of public affairs and of political prestige. Five of its members have been, at some time or other, Prime Ministers. Thirteen others have also been either Ministers or Under-Secretaries. Three were taken over from the Tardieu Ministry. But the Steeg Cabinet has two serious weaknesses in view of the present complexion of the Parliament. In the first place, having antagonized



FRANCE AND BELGIUM

the groups that constituted Tardieu's majority, it has made impossible any durable alliance among the non-Socialist elements in the Chamber. Although M. Steeg, who by temperament is more moderate than the party to which he belongs, expressly stated his desire to form a Ministry of conciliation, actually he offered no participation either to the members of the Republican Democratic Union (the Marin group) nor to M. Tardieu himself. The result was that the various groups of the Right and of the Centre not merely refused their support to the Ministry but prevailed on some of their members who had already accepted portfolios to withdraw their acceptance at the last moment. It so happened that when the Ministry appeared before the Chamber its membership was not complete and M. Steeg had to fill the vacancies during the recess. He showed his spirit of conciliation by choosing the new men mostly from the Republicans of the Left and the Radical Left, even giving the Ministry of Pensions to a member who had voted against the Cabinet on its first appearance.

The second weakness is that the Ministry must depend for its support on the 107 Socialists whose platform forces them to vote on crucial issues,

for example on the budget and military appropriations, in such a way as is sure to spell disaster for the Cabinet.

These weaknesses were emphasized in the first debate on the new Ministry's program on Dec. 18. The program called for a truce among parties, purification of politics, impartial justice for all, peace founded on security, the voting of the national equipment law, interrupted by the crisis, and the balancing of the budget. The only point intended to appeal especially to the Radical-Socialist party was the stress laid on the secular character of the State schools and the promise of gradually providing free secondary education for the children of the people without distinction of fortune.

The debate was enlivened by the fiery intervention of M. Franklin-Bouillon against the government and the skillful address of M. Herriot for it. The first declared that the government was only a government of the old cartel under a disguise, powerless to live without the consent and support of the Socialists. M. Herriot denied this and claimed that the Radicals were attempting to revive a loyal attempt at concentration. The argument that the Steeg majority is not homogeneous could, he said, have been turned against the Tardieu majority and the Tardieu Ministry. The outcome of the debate was uncertain till the end, when the Cabinet won by the narrow margin of seven votes. The Left had succeeded in one essential point. The new Ministry did not contain in its ranks any members hostile to the Briand policy or lukewarm on the dogma of "laicisation." The Socialists stated that they did not so much vote for the government as against M. Tardieu.

The Steeg Ministry can live only by obtaining from the parties of the Centre enough votes to assure it a majority which does not depend on the Socialists. That will not be easy, and any day the opposition wishes to upset the government it need only

present a bill on which the 107 Socialists will be obliged to vote against the Cabinet.

THE OUSTRIC AFFAIR

The lovers of scandal have been fairly well catered to by the Parliamentary committee which has been looking into the political ramifications of the Oustric affair. Its sittings lasted until Dec. 27 and were resumed on Jan. 5. Most of the investigation seemed to bear exclusively on the conditions under which the listing of the Italian security *Snia Viscosa* was obtained. In addition to Raoul Peret the principal witnesses have been René Besnard, former Ambassador to Italy, who urged the granting of the favor, and Gaston Vidal, ex-Deputy and Under-Secretary, who was an avowedly paid representative of M. Oustric. Whatever may have been their motives in yielding to Oustric's pressure, both M. Peret and M. Besnard had to acknowledge that they became soon after the legal advisers of the man whom they had favored and received handsome retainers for their work. M. Besnard received \$8,000 a year; M. Raoul Peret, however showed that he returned \$3,200, representing fees paid to him, and that after becoming Minister he had ceased to work for the banking concern. An assistant director of the Bank of France has been disciplined for having had in 1926 and 1927 a personal account in the Oustric Bank and for having carried on, for his own benefit, speculative operations at a time when the institution was still flourishing. So far it appears that, although both the French commercial attaché in Rome and M. Moret, the present governor of the bank, then an important official of the Ministry of Finances, had been hostile for business reasons to the favor asked, it was granted under the pressure of purely political or personal considerations. The Ambassador asserted his belief that it would help Franco-Italian relations and M. Peret was obviously circumvented by insistent emis-

saries of the interested parties. M. Peret belongs to the Centre party, while M. Besnard and M. Vidal are Radical-Socialists.

DEATH OF MARSHAL JOFFRE

The first days of the new year were saddened by the death of Marshal Joffre on Jan. 3 at the age of 78. His passing revealed the great hold he had on the hearts of the French people and the respect in which he was held by the world. Controversies about his rôle as generalissimo of the French Army in the first years of the war yielded to the acknowledgment of his cool and deliberate mind, his modesty and his democratic simplicity. Of all the generals of the World War the victor of the Marne was easily the one who was nearest to the heart of his people. His funeral, which took place on Jan. 7, was attended by representatives of the government and of foreign nations.

DICTATORSHIP IN MONACO

On Dec. 26, on account of disorderly demonstrations on the arrival in Monaco of Prince Louis, he issued a decree suspending the State and municipal councils. Drastic penalties were meted out to several persons who participated in the disorders. This temporary dictatorship was explained by the necessity of protecting the material interests of the principality threatened by a political agitation which has for the last few years disturbed the pleasure and gambling resort known to the world as Monte Carlo.

FRANCO-BELGIAN AGREEMENT

Belgium has been agitated by a new controversy which, like the language dispute, has aligned parties along racial as well as political lines. Led by Emile Vandervelde, the Socialist ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and supported by the majority of his party and a group of Flemish and Frontist Deputies, a movement begun several

years ago has been resumed for the cancellation of the military agreement that was made between France and Belgium in 1920. This agreement was established by letters exchanged between M. Millerand, then French Premier, and M. Delacroix and M. Janson, Belgian Ministers, authorizing cooperation in time of peace between the two general staffs to discuss methods of common defense in case of an attack by Germany.

M. Vandervelde, who accepted the agreement when he was Minister, has now taken the attitude that such an agreement is not in keeping with the Locarno policy and, moreover, does not conform to the policy of international disarmament which his party supports. Some Flemish spokesmen who are actuated by other reasons, among which fear of French influence is the most potent, have welcomed the controversy. The government has so far remained aloof from the controversy, reserving whatever statement it will make for the benefit of the Parliament. A majority of Belgians, it appears, favor the agreement as providing a means of action in the event of sudden aggression while waiting to set in motion League of Nations machinery. One of the main reasons for the recrudescence of this controversy is the proposal to carry along the Belgian frontier a line of forts similar to that which is being established on the French frontier.

The Socialists consider the financial burden that this entails both as insufficient for protection and as contrary to the interests of peace. Certain Flemish Deputies have likewise raised the cry of "French tutelage." M. Hermans, the leader of the Frontists, created an uproar in the Chamber on Dec. 18 when, speaking on the bill fixing the army total for 1931 at 62,000, he stated: "You have put the Belgian Army at the service of France."

THE "GERMAN FURY" INSCRIPTION

On Dec. 15 the Court of Appeals of Brussels reversed the decision of the lower tribunal which had ordered the "German fury" inscription to be placed on the Louvain Library balustrade. The Louvain tribunal, which had upheld Whitney Warren, based its pronouncement on the Belgian law protecting an architect's plans and contended that the inscribed balustrade, recalling the destruction of the original library of Louvain by the German invaders, was an integral part of his designs. The higher court has decided this to be a misinterpretation of the law in question, which was intended only to protect an architect from the pirating of his designs, but in no wise was intended to permit an architect to enforce each detail of his design upon the owner of a building. Mr. Warren expressed his intention to carry the case still further.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

THE Christmas season passed without any very serious disorders in Germany, though many predictions had been made that poverty, unemployment and hunger might lead to dangerous disturbances. In Nuremberg a theatre performance in which the German Gretchen was dressed in rage, symbolical of Ger-

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many's destitution, brought an attack by some indignant Fascists which broke up the performance. In Berlin

early in December there were Communist food riots in which three persons were killed and several seriously wounded. And in several cities there were the usual brawls between the Fascists and Communists with some



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

broken heads. Otherwise the pessimistic predictions were not fulfilled.

The German Reichswehr celebrated its tenth birthday on Jan. 1, to the accompaniment of a flood of articles in all the Right Wing papers dwelling once more on the "injustices" from which Germany's defense force suffers, and regretting the good old days when every German was a soldier and the Fatherland possessed a large army. The fact that the Democratic, Socialistic and other Left papers did not even mention the army's birthday only emphasized the sharpness of present party lines. President von Hindenburg and General Groener, Minister of Defense, in their open letter to the Reichswehr said in part: "The Reichswehr has existed for ten years today in the form laid down for it by the Treaty of Versailles. In spite of all the chains with which it is bound, it has shown itself the protector of internal peace and the firm supporter of the State. It has well and truly executed the trust placed in its hands by the old army and navy. May it continue to find honor in obedient and loyal service to the Fatherland."

Any hopes of Adolf Hitler that the Centre (Roman Catholic) party would eventually join his National Socialists in a coalition government

were definitely dissipated on Jan. 4, when Dr. Wilhelm Kaas, chairman of the Centrist party, in a speech at Cassel, advised the Nazis to "take a vacation from politics, but without purchasing a round-trip ticket, for thus only could they render the German people a definite service." At the same time he warmly defended Chancellor Bruening and his fiscal reforms against the attacks of the National Socialists.

Early in January Chancellor Bruening took an extended trip to Upper Silesia, Pomerania and East and West Prussia. He was accompanied by Dr. Treviranus, Commissioner for Eastern Relief; Dr. Dorpmueller, president of the Federal Railways, and Dr. Luther, president of the Reichsbank. Though some of the Polish papers were inclined to see a provocation in this trip along the districts bordering on Poland, in reality the purpose was to give these political and economic leaders a first-hand view of the social conditions in the eastern agricultural areas which have been promised government relief. It was also intended, as Chancellor Bruening himself stated, "to give expression to the firm will for self-preservation, allegiance to State and love for the Fatherland, which animates the peoples of the eastern territories and which is heartily reciprocated by the government and the President of the Reich, who are prepared to give the last of their strength for the defense of Germany's eastern provinces." It may also be surmised that another purpose of the trip was to remind the German minority in Poland that the German Government is keeping its eye on the welfare of those Germans who are doomed to live beyond the frontiers as drawn by the treaty of Versailles.

The Reichstag was in recess during January so that the Bruening Cabinet was able to work undisturbed at its task of fiscal and economic reform. The Parliamentary battle be-

tween the government and its enemies on the extreme Right and Left sides was scheduled to begin again when the Legislature reassembled on Feb. 2.

Meanwhile the government's extreme financial necessity is indicated by its selling 64,000,000 marks (about \$15,232,000) worth of Federal Railways 7 per cent preferred stock, one of the most cherished of the government's resources. The purchaser was the Alliance and Stuttgart Life Insurance Company. This is the first time that the government has given up any considerable amount of its Reichsbahn stock, which it acquired at the time of the adoption of the Dawes plan.

The campaign for the general reduction of price levels, with a consequent reduction in coal prices and miners' wages, led early in January to a strike of some 40,000 miners at thirty-three shafts. The situation at first looked serious, as the Communists seemed to be taking advantage of the opportunity to cause a widespread strike, telling the men that they would be betrayed in the wage arbitration negotiations, as the Berlin metal workers had been betrayed two months previously, unless they took matters into their own hands. In the end, however, only about 11 per cent of the miners in the Ruhr district walked out, and the government and the police were able to keep the situation well in hand. Apparently the campaign to lower prices is having some success, though it has not brought about the 10 per cent reduction that the government had aimed at. The December cost of living index was 3.1 per cent below that of November and 7 per cent below that of December, 1929. The decline on the Berlin stock market, however, during 1930 has been very much greater—quite as great as that on the New York market during the second half of the past year. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* index of prices for German stocks as of Dec. 31, 1930, was 78.14,

as compared with 104.89 at the end of 1929.

Unemployment passed the 4,000,000 mark by Jan. 1, 1931. This is the highest it has been at any time, but there is some cheer in the fact that the rate of increase of unemployment has declined. Dr. Dietrich, Minister of Finance, in a speech on Jan. 6 pointed out the danger to the capitalist system in Germany if the huge sum of \$750,000,000 had to be paid year after year for unemployment insurance. "Our present capitalistic industrial system cannot survive if it does not find means of creating employment for the unemployed," he said. "Economic systems of other days have decayed and disappeared when they became unable to solve their own problems. Our problem is clear: How can we employ the unemployed instead of supporting them?" Asserting his faith in private economy and his disbelief in socialized industry, he contended that unemployment insurance did not provide a solution for the most pressing problem of the day. He made the interesting proposal that the State's money now going for unproductive doles ought to be paid as premiums to unemployed workers, enabling them to accept wages lower than the minimum wage. Lower wages would mean reduced costs of production and enable industry to compete more successfully in the international markets. The resultant speeding up of production would re-employ that surplus working population now idling at the State's expense, and speeded-up production would cause an all-round reduction of prices until it would no longer be necessary for the government to pay the premium.

The consolidation of companies with a view to reducing costs of production is still proceeding in Germany. The Hoesch Mining Company and the Koeln-Neuessen Company have effected a merger, the stock of both companies, amounting to 41,509,000

marks (about \$9,883,000), being nominally transferred to the recently formed Montan Union A. G. at Basle. In the locomotive industry the AEG (German General Electric Company) and the Borsig Locomotive Company, operating Germany's oldest locomotive factory, are about to throw their interests in locomotive construction into a new company in which the AEG will hold a majority of shares. The new combination, which has contracts for 15 per cent of the Federal Railways building program, holds third place among the German locomotive plants, the Henschel works being first with 22 per cent and the Krupp works second with 18 per cent.

The American film of Erich Remarque's war novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, drew the ire of the National Socialists because it depicted Germany's defeat and was believed to have a depressing effect on Germany's youth. The Hitlerites protested against its being shown and, not content with protests, caused uproar in the theatres by turning loose from their pockets among the audience quantities of white mice. To avoid disorder, the chief censor finally forbade the film being shown.

It will be a matter of great satisfaction to all Americans to know that our government has finally purchased a suitable building in Berlin for the United States Embassy. This is the famous old Bluecher Palace, next to the Brandenburger Gate and within a block of the French and British Embassies as well as of the German Foreign Office.

CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA

Like Germany, Austria has been agitated over the production of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. The Heimwehr, veterans' associations and pan-Germans have held protest meetings and demanded its suppression.

The Cabinet and members of Parliament viewed the film at a private showing and pronounced their impression as not unfavorable. The Socialist municipality of Vienna in consequence allowed the film to be shown, and the theatre was at once sold out for three weeks. But in the province of Upper Austria, Dr. Schlegl, the Christian Socialist Governor, has forbidden it in his district. Under the constitution this is a question the decision of which is wisely left to the local authorities rather than to the central government.

Although Austria has passed through a very difficult financial year, with many bankruptcies and increasing unemployment, the Christmas season witnessed an extraordinary amount of buying. Shoppers with shillings, dollars, pounds, francs and marks bought goods so extensively that merchants hurriedly had to engage extra assistants, and by Christmas Day were pleased to find their stocks low or exhausted and their cash tills full. One explanation is that more and more foreigners are discovering that Vienna is not only ideal in the Spring and Autumn holidays, but that it offers exceptional attractions in Winter. Another explanation is that the hard times induced thousands of families who heretofore had usually scraped together enough for a brief holiday outside Vienna to spend their money for presents and good cheer at home.

NEW SWISS PRESIDENT

Dr. Henri Haeblerlin, Chief of the Federal Department of Justice and Police, was on Dec. 11 elected President of the Swiss Republic for 1931 by 158 votes out of a total of 183. He is 62 years old and was President in 1926. Giuseppe Motta, Chief of the Federal Political Department, was elected Vice President by 162 votes.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE trial of eight Italians arrested in December for inciting rebellion was held on Dec. 22 by the

special Military Tribunal for the Defense of the State. The group was composed chiefly of intellectuals, including Professor Umberto Gelmetti, a lawyer of Verona; Renzo Rendi, literary correspondent of several American newspapers; Mario Vinciguerra, a well-known writer; Mrs. Adolfo de Bosis, the widow of the noted Italian poet and of American birth, and her son, Lauro de Bosis, who was abroad and so out of reach of arrest. They were accused "of having conspired together to undermine the constitutional order of the State by inciting citizens to revolt by means of secret publications with the intention of causing an armed insurrection and civil war." These publications, it was claimed by the prosecution, were the organs of the so-called National Alliance, a society whose end was the overthrowing of the existing régime.

The accused, while admitting various degrees of connection with the organization and responsibility for the pamphlets, declared that they had no intention of trying to overthrow the Fascist Government by means of violence. Newspaper reports of the trial stated that the accused threw the chief responsibility on Lauro de Bosis and that Mrs. de Bosis, while admitting that the pamphlets were printed in her home, "declared she had the greatest admiration for Premier Mussolini and said she wished to live only to make Italy and the Fascist régime forget her action in this case." She, with three others, was acquitted; Professor Gelmetti, whom the court found guilty of distributing the pamphlets, was condemned to three years' imprisonment, while Mario Vinciguerra and Renzo Rendi, who were convicted not

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only of distributing but of writing and printing the pamphlets, were sentenced to fifteen years' imprison-

ment each. No sentence was pronounced on Lauro de Bosis.

Explaining the purpose of the movement, Lauro de Bosis is quoted in a dispatch from Paris as saying: "It was first to give the Italian population the facts about their own country, which they have not had for six years—the length of the present Fascist censorship; second, to prevent the shifting of the people toward a pronounced radicalism, as a consequence of a reaction against the Fascist régime; and, third, to rally all Italians round the liberal Constitution of Italy."

That the Fascist authorities see danger in such radicalism is evident from the recent arrest of a number of Communists charged with spreading propaganda in Turin. Five of the eight arrested were sentenced by the Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to ten years, while a group of Milanese Communists received sentences of from two to seventeen years. The ferreting out of these sources of opposition to the government is largely the work of a special section of the political police known as the O. V. R. A. (*Organizzazione Volontaria per la Repressione dell Antifascismo*), a secret organization directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior, of which Mussolini is the head.

ITALY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

Italy is struggling to meet the economic situation with drastic cuts in expenditure and efforts to decrease prices. In these efforts she has been hampered, she declares, by attempts made abroad to impair her credit by instigating rumors that she is seeking in vain to borrow money. It is even



THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

asserted in some quarters that these rumors are part of a French plot to induce Italy to yield to France in the naval controversy.

That part of Italy's financial difficulties is due to the depression in the United States, and particularly to the stock market crash in the Fall of 1929, was asserted by Premier Mussolini to the Senate on Dec. 18 in defense of the cut of 12 per cent in the salaries of all State employes. He is quoted as saying, in part:

For us poor European provincials it was a great surprise. Every one knows the data of American prosperity, which had become commonplace. There was one motor car for every eight inhabitants; one radio set for every four inhabitants; one telephone for every three. Every one gambled on the Stock Exchange, and since stocks rose incessantly every one bought at 20, sold at 100, and pocketed the difference. All this was fantastic, and we on this side of the Atlantic had a sense of envy. The American slogan was mass production and mass consumption. This formula is false, and Americans themselves now admit it. It is false because production is made by machines, while consumption is made by men. The formula was logical from a purely mechanical viewpoint, but a small hitch was sufficient to cause it to fail. American prosperity was based on the assumption that production and consumption were able to keep step. As soon as consumption gave signs of decreasing, American captains of industry began spurring the horse of consump-

tion. They did so by raising salaries; then, when this appeared to be insufficient, by purchases on the instalment system, with production rationalized to the extreme with fantastic advertising. At a given moment consumption decreased greatly, and the crisis exploded in all its violence.

Mussolini admitted that there were more than 500,000 unemployed in Italy and that that number would probably increase. At the same time, he declared that it was proportionately less than in almost any other country of the world, and that there were signs of general recovery.

In his New Year's Day speech broadcast to America, Mussolini spoke in quite a different tone, emphasizing the friendship felt in Italy for the United States. He also took the occasion to protest against the idea that Fascism is a menace to the peace of the world. "Neither I," he declared, "nor my government, nor the Italian people, desire to bring about war."

In the government of her African colonies Italy has had to contend with native tribesmen. In order to curb the Arabs in the colony of Cyrenaica, the Cabinet Council approved a decree providing for the confiscation of all property belonging to the Senussite order on the ground that this organization, ostensibly religious in char-

acter, is only a cover for political and military activities which are really seditious.

On Dec. 12 the Chamber of Deputies approved a measure removing from the list of national holidays the day of Sept. 20, the anniversary of the taking of Rome from the Pope in 1870, and replacing it by Feb. 11, the anniversary of the signature of the Lateran treaties, thus substituting for a date which marked warfare between State and Church one which commemorates their reconciliation.

The success of an Italian transatlantic air expedition on Jan. 6 caused much enthusiasm in Italy. A squadron of seaplanes, commanded by General Italo Balbo, Italian Air Minister, left Bolama, in Portuguese Guinea, on the western coast of Africa, on Jan. 6, and 18 hours 46 minutes later, still in squadron formation, landed at Natal, Brazil. The success of the flight was marred by the death of five of the aviators at the start of the expedition in the crash of two planes. Two replacement planes were sent off about an hour later, but they were forced to land in midocean near the island of Fernando do Noronha. Ten planes completed the flight.

The event of chief importance at the Vatican occurred on Jan. 8, when the Pope issued an encyclical on marriage, known by the first two words of the Latin text as *Casti Connubii*. The full text of this pronouncement, which sets forth the latest Catholic views on mixed marriage, the home and birth control, is reproduced on page 797 of this magazine.

The Vatican by a law published on Jan. 2 authorized the emission of a Vatican State coinage. The unit is the gold lira, of the same value as the Italian lira. Italian currency will be legal tender in Vatican City, as will Vatican currency in Italy.

REVOLT IN SPAIN

The revolt in Northern Spain, which by Dec. 15 had proved to be extensive,

was put down with drastic measures. Censorship of the press has made it extremely difficult to obtain accurate information, but the government claimed within twenty-four hours to have the situation under control. By refusing permission to any one to leave any city throughout Spain without police authorization, and thus establishing some degree of control over communications, the government was able to isolate centres of strikes and rebellion. Some measure of quiet appears to have been restored, but there is wide difference of opinion as to the forces behind the uprising and as to whether the suppression is permanent or whether it is but a temporary lull before a storm. There seems to be agreement that the revolt failed because of bad organization and timing.

According to Major Franco, the romantic figure of the revolt, who, after bombarding Madrid from the air with revolutionary leaflets, escaped to Portugal, there was nothing communistic in the revolt. It was a movement to rid the Spanish people of "cruel oppression of the aristocracy, of the clergy, of the capitalists."

While the causes and import of the revolt were being variously appraised, some 10,000 persons were reported to be in prison because of their connection with the movement. Their plight did not deter the circulation of a republican manifesto which was signed by thousands of persons, including one of Spain's best-known military men. The signers declared that they "had plotted to obtain through a military and civil uprising the justice and political dignity which today are possible only under a republic."

That he is ready to end the dictatorship and restore liberty as soon as it can be done with safety is the contention of Premier Berenguer. "I am obliged to keep order," he declared, "and have no other choice than to proclaim martial law as long as dangerous outbreaks are occurring. My only hope is that this situation will be as brief as possible. The emergency meas-

ures I have introduced were forced upon me. At the same time, I know the Spanish people love freedom and are restive, and I intend to give them back their rights and prerogatives as soon as the most elementary caution permits."

The discovery of great quantities

of bombs, ammunition and machine guns hidden in various parts of the country indicated that Portugal had revolutionary movements of her own to deal with. This material was promptly confiscated and many arrests were made. The government was reported to be well supported and to have the situation firmly in hand.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

THE newly elected Polish Parliament opened at Warsaw on Dec. 9, with the budget for 1931-32 as its first important business. The President's message, read by Prime Minister Slawek, contained an urgent appeal for the constitutional reforms which the preceding Parliament failed to adopt. The government bloc listened to the message standing; the Opposition members heard it sitting, while the Left group benches were empty. For the first time in history the supporters of Marshal Pilsudski were in a majority in the Sejm. The Dictator himself did not appear; a few days later he left Warsaw for the Madeira Islands, where he expected to spend the Winter.

The situation at the opening of Parliament was made tense by the publication in *Robotnik* on the previous day of an article by Andreas Strug, a former Senator and member of Marshal Pilsudski's Legion, bitterly denouncing the treatment accorded the twenty-one former deputies who during the electoral period were imprisoned at Brest-Litovsk. The only charges against the men were that they had made anti-government speeches; yet it was alleged that while imprisoned they were starved, beaten, threatened with instant death and otherwise given the treatment ordinarily reserved for military convicts. The article was, of

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course, suppressed, but not before it had stirred strong demands upon the government.

On Dec. 16 the government majority refused to permit the subject to be discussed in the Sejm on the ground that complaints of the prisoners or in their behalf should be addressed not to Parliament but to the courts. Four days later the most noted of the prisoners, Adelbert Korfanty, was released along with Casimir Kubala, the Polish aviator, who had recently been placed under arrest on charges of insubordination.

A new Polish railway running south from the port of Gdynia to Bromberg on the southern edge of the Corridor, which was opened in the Autumn, has added another to the already countless complaints that embitter the relations between the free city of Danzig and the republic of Poland. Danzig views the development with special bitterness since it is obviously intended to promote the interests of the new port of Gdynia as against her own. She feels that as a great trading and shipping city she is doomed under present Polish policy to a slow death.

BULGARIA'S RELATIONS WITH GREECE

The visit of Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Turkish Foreign Minister, to Sofia early in December was the first that any official representative of the Ankara Government has made to Bul-



EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

garia since the war. The conversations that took place gave the Turkish statesman opportunity to emphasize how greatly his government desired to see Bulgaria and Greece reach an early settlement on the questions which at present keep their relations somewhat strained.

Chief among these is Bulgaria's access to the sea. Ten years ago the treaty of Neuilly granted such access in Greek Thrace at or near Dedeagatch. But in spite of desultory negotiations looking to definite arrangements nothing has been accomplished. At one time the Athens Government offered to give Bulgaria a piece of land on which to build a modern port. Sofia replied that such a port would be useless unless a railway running from Bulgaria to the Aegean were also hers. To the building of such a railway Greece categorically objected and the discussion came to an end.

Greece later hinted that Bulgaria might like a "free zone" at Saloniki on the same footing as Yugoslavia. But this idea did not appeal to the Sofia authorities and the matter has reached no solution. The Turkish Foreign Minister made it clear that his government would be pleased to help if it could.

Another matter in dispute has been Greek treatment of the Bulgarian minorities in Macedonia. The Greek authorities have allowed these minorities neither liberty of speech nor religious education, and many protests have been lodged with the League of Nations. Dr. Tewfik indicated some hope of bringing about an understanding on this situation also. Thus Turkey, against whom nearly all the Balkan powers were arrayed in war some eighteen years ago, is now playing the unexpected rôle of Balkan peacemaker.

HUNGARY'S DEMAND FOR TREATY REVISION

In an impassioned speech before the upper house of the Hungarian Parliament on Dec. 12 Minister of Defense Gömboes demanded reintroduction of universal military service and declared that this demand for conscription must be kept to the fore so as to contribute to the restoration of full Hungarian sovereignty. A disarmed Hungary, he asserted, would be a danger to peace because in such a condition the country would invite attack, while a fully armed Hungary would herself stand for peace. "Pacifists," he declared, "must be told that in this corner of Europe the sword is necessary, if only for defensive purposes. * * * Present conditions must be borne in a manly spirit. We must not complain, but wait until, with God's help, that thing happens for which we all long."

The speech was greeted with wild enthusiasm, and at a press reception on the same evening Count Julius Karolyi, the new Foreign Minister,

roused equal feeling by proclaiming that while he would follow the peaceful foreign policy of Dr. Louis Walko, his predecessor, a pacific revision of the peace treaties was for Hungary an essential condition for any economic reconstruction of Central Europe. The *Pesti Hirlap* welcomed this statement as indicating that a more vigorous revisionist program is to be pursued, with active assistance from Premier Mussolini and German Foreign Minister Curtius.

Returns from the Budapest municipal elections held shortly before Christmas showed that the three conservative parties won 73 seats in the city council and the four progressive parties 77. Continued conservative control is, however, assured by the fact that 91 additional members are appointed by officials of the government or by various social groups.

GREEK FOREIGN POLICY

The Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Dr. Vojislav Marinkovitch, paid an official visit to Athens on Dec. 10. Although he refused to admit he came on anything more than a mission of courtesy, his trip was known to be inspired by a desire to investigate reports that Greece contemplated entering an alliance including Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary—countries with which Yugoslavia is not particularly friendly. It was at one time reported that the matter would be looked into on the spot by Foreign Minister Benes of Czechoslovakia, but apparently the task was turned over to Dr. Marinkovitch instead. On his return to Belgrade after a week's absence the envoy reported that the Athens Government had disclaimed any intention to enter the rumored bloc or indeed a Balkan alliance of any kind.

The Turco-Greek Ankara pact was ratified on Dec. 21 with the concurrence of all parties. To Royalist criticism that the naval section of the treaty gives Turkey hegemony in the Aegean Sea, Premier Venizelos

replied that the agreement's effect is rather to establish naval equality.

On the same day the Greek Cabinet resigned in order to enable the Prime Minister to make up a government composed more completely of his close supporters. As reconstituted on Dec. 22, the new Cabinet is solidly Venizelist. The Ministries of War, Health and Aviation, previously headed by the Prime Minister himself, were assigned to men who had been under-secretaries in those departments.

During the first week of January, 1931, Premier Venizelos made a trip through the States of Central Europe, ending in Rome. (See article by J. M. Scammell on pp. 712-715 of this issue.) Venizelos denied any ulterior motives to his trip, although it was suspected that it was in connection with the mutual friendship treaties existing between Italy, Greece and Turkey.

CZECHOSLOVAK-HUNGARIAN TRADE WAR

Negotiations for an emergency trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary to replace the commercial treaty denounced by Czechoslovakia in 1927, but afterward extended for three years, collapsed in the middle of December and a customs war between the two countries appeared imminent. The semi-official *Prager Presse* charged Hungary with a desire to force Czechoslovakia to a minimum tariff for her agricultural products while Hungarian industry would continue to enjoy the protection of maximum rates. On the other hand, Dr. Anton Eber, president of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce, asserted that the Czechoslovak proposals would make the export of Hungarian agricultural produce to Czechoslovakia impossible and as a result of the working of the most-favored-nation provision would amount to economic suicide for Hungary. It was expected that the threatened break would turn Hungarian produce in the

direction of Austria, thus meeting the wishes of Italy, which is bound by treaty to both countries and would like the relationship to become triangular.

AGRICULTURE IN RUMANIA

Throughout December, Prime Minister Mironescu and other members of the Rumanian Government visited various outlying sections of the country, addressing public meetings on public matters, most frequently, of course, economic questions, and especially the plight of agriculture. This plan of carrying the government's message directly to the people and of sounding out local popular sentiment has of late been followed also in Yugoslavia, and constitutes an interesting departure in Balkan politics. Among the points emphasized by M. Mironescu was that, by enforcing economies in public administration, the government intended to get along without imposing new taxation. Aggravated as it has been by the world situation, the position of agriculture has become the crux of the country's difficulties. (See article by Nathan S. Russell on pp. 692-696 of this magazine.) Success in dealing with this problem would greatly consolidate Rumania's position, and with it the position of the present government.

Vintila Bratianu, the last of the

"dynasty" whose power caused both his father Jon and his brother Jonel (as well as Vintila himself) to be called the uncrowned kings of Rumania, died on Dec. 22. For six years he was Minister of Finance in his brother's Cabinet, and afterward was Prime Minister until overthrown by the political combination that elevated Dr. Julius Maniu to power. Adhering to the anti-Carolist policy of his brother, he labored long and hard to prevent Prince Carol's return to the country, and he never became reconciled to the situation produced by that event. A nephew, George Bratianu—son of Jonel—remains, but is not credited with being a politician of the first rank. On Dec. 28 the executive committee of the Liberal party selected as leader, in succession to Bratianu, ex-Premier Duca.

The text of the much-discussed decree imposing a graduated tax on bachelors in Yugoslavia was made public on Dec. 16. The new impost was based on the income tax, and ranged from 50 per cent thereof for bachelors between 30 and 35 years of age to 10 per cent for those between 50 and 60. Clergymen, officers and men of the active armed forces, aliens, persons under legal guardianship, prisoners serving sentences and State employees whose pay is less than \$40 a month, were exempted.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

THE attempt in Finland to modify the prohibition law in favor of malt beverages with a higher alcoholic content met with resolute opposition when the question came up for final disposition by Parliament. The government bill legalizing 3 per cent beer was rejected on Dec. 19 by a vote of 99 to 86. Two days earlier a proposal for a new prohibition law

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was rejected by a still larger majority, 122 to 43. While rejecting the beer bill, the Legislature sanctioned an-

other bill imposing a tax on near beer. The government had intended to introduce the malt beverage of higher alcoholic content in order to render the new tax more acceptable.

These efforts to break the solid wall of prohibition have given a new



NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

lease of life to a question that has been discussed intermittently for the past five or six years—the possibility of holding a national referendum on the prohibition question. Some fifteen months ago two well-known public figures, both of them veterans in the service of the temperance cause, expressed their belief that the prohibition experiment had brought Finland to a blind alley, with only one exit—a national vote on prohibition.

The municipal elections resulted generally in gains by the non-Socialist elements. Both the small interest in the elections—about 50 per cent of the voters stayed away from the polls—and the capture by the Social Democrats of many of the seats left vacant by the ousting of the Communists indicated that the results were less startling than had been expected. In Helsinki, the capital, the bourgeois groups obtained 37 seats in the City Council and the Socialists 22. The Socialist figure, however, represents a gain of all but one of the ten former Communist seats. But there was no landslide for the parties that had expected to gain most by the

elimination of the Communists from the arena of local and national politics.

The trial of those accused of directing the abduction of ex-President K. J. Stahlberg came to an end on Dec. 18. Major Gen. Kurt Wallenius, former chief of the general staff; Colonel Kuussaari, former chief of the mobilization section of the general staff, and their six accomplices were found guilty. General Wallenius and Colonel Kuussaari were each sentenced to three years at hard labor and dismissed from the army, while the others received shorter prison terms, ranging from nine months to two years. The court stated in its decision that the two officers had instigated the abduction in aggravating circumstances, and refused to accept the plea of the defendants that the kidnapping was merely the result of a misunderstanding.

On the day before the closing of the sensational Stahlberg kidnapping incident, a similar case was disposed of by another court. In this instance, those guilty of the kidnapping of Mayor Hakkila were given suspended sentences of eight months. The conclusion of the Stahlberg and the Hakkila cases indicates that Premier Svinhufvud's speech at the opening of the Fall session of Parliament, in which he declared that the organs for the maintenance of law and order were fully capable of safeguarding the orderly processes of peaceful existence, was something more than rhetoric. The severity of the sentences in the Stahlberg case, in particular, show clearly that the court was in no mood to bow before the so-called Lapua movement.

SCANDINAVIAN TARIFFS

At the Economic Conference at Geneva three months ago the participating States adopted a resolution which would tend to diminish the protectionist policies which admittedly constitute a serious obstacle in the

way of international trade. Another attempt along similar lines was initiated by Norway in September, 1930. A proposal submitted to Sweden, Denmark and Holland made the general suggestion that the four States should enter into an agreement not to raise their respective tariff walls for a specified time without first consulting one another. This proposal for a customs convention was discussed at Geneva by the Foreign Ministers of the four States, and in October a conference met at The Hague for further consideration.

The proposed tariff truce was discussed at Oslo in December. Belgium, in the meantime, had been invited to share in the deliberations. While the results of the negotiations have not yet been made public, it was reported on Dec. 22 that the representatives of the five countries had reached a complete agreement and that a customs truce for one year, during which the contracting parties agreed not to raise their tariffs without notifying one another, had been actually drafted and accepted.

A Danish suggestion had already been made for the creation of an economic bloc of Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. This group of States, if it were to cooperate in tariff and related policies, would stand for a total of exports exceeded only by the United States, Great Britain and Germany, and in imports only by the United States and Great Britain. Its merchant marine would be outdistanced in tonnage only by these two countries, and would be more than twice as large as that of Germany. Whether the Oslo conference will lead to the formation of this larger coalition of North European States is, of course, uncertain. However, the Belgian Foreign Minister emphasized a short while ago the desirability of economic cooperation between the Oslo conferees and Great Britain, and the question of a German-North Euro-

pean customs agreement has also been discussed.

SWEDISH POLITICAL PARTIES

The general strength of the Swedish political parties, as indicated by their representation in the City Governments of the country, was disclosed by figures published on Dec. 7. In the municipal elections a few months ago the Social Democrats elected 1,524 members, the Conservatives 1,304, the Liberals 382, and the Communists 85. In terms of actual majorities the Social Democrats control thirty-four City Governments—among them Gothenburg and Malmö—while in four other cities, among them Stockholm, the Socialists and Communists together are in control. The parties of the Right are in the majority in ten urban communities, and together with the Liberals are the determining element in sixty other localities. The National Socialist party which was formed recently more or less on the model of the Hitlerite group in Germany, held its first meeting on Dec. 5, 1930. The meeting was attended by a number of Communists, who aimed apparently to give the occasion a livelier note than its organizers anticipated. The result was a general fight, intervention by the police, and the destruction of a good deal of furniture.

The relations between capital and labor in the textile industry took a turn for the worse in the closing days of December, when the negotiations between the employes and the employers of the Swedish weaving industry broke down. More than 32,000 weavers were affected by the failure of the negotiations, and, according to reports, the definite failure to reach an agreement left the whole industry in a precarious position.

The question of the reorganization of national defense which has occupied Swedish public opinion and statesmen for some time, led, as was noted a month ago, to the appoint-

ment of a commission to survey the entire problem. According to press statements this question was behind the resignation of M. Osterberg from the Cabinet and the appointment in his place of M. Rundqvist who had been one of the departmental chiefs of the Defense Ministry. His elevation to a Cabinet post was interpreted as an attempt on the part of Premier Ekman to strengthen the government by obtaining for it additional competence in military matters.

DANISH UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment problem in Denmark, as well as activity among the more radical labor elements, led to an unusual outburst in the Folketing on Dec. 10. While K. K. Steincke, Minister for Social Affairs, was speaking on certain legislative proposals, a visitor in the gallery rose to speak in the name of the unemployed. He was at once silenced by the police, whereupon another visitor fired a shot which struck the ceiling of the chamber. Although the incident failed to break up the session, it led about a week later to a long conference on the problem of unemployment relief between Minister Steincke and the man who fired the shot. On Jan. 7 it was reported that the unemployment situation had become sufficiently acute to lead the Minister for Social Affairs to appoint a non-partisan committee to investigate proposals for speedy relief. A further indication of the restlessness caused by the prevailing economic crisis was given on Dec. 6, when a brick was thrown through a window of Mr. Steincke's home.

Another sign of dissatisfaction came from the Fascists. Dr. Paul Goebbels, one of the leading figures in the German National Socialist (Fascist) party, was scheduled to deliver a lecture on Nov. 28 before the Danish Students' Union. This lecture was strenuously opposed by the Communists, who precipitated a fight and rioting in protest against the Fas-

cist leader, whom they labeled "that German bloodhound Goebbels." Representations by the police led to the cancellation of Dr. Goebbels's lecture. The aftermath came on Dec. 1, when Colonel Lembcke, the leader of Denmark's youngest party consisting of five men—its program is pro-Fascist and anti-feminist and provides for compulsory physical training for the entire population—sent a deputation of its entire membership to Foreign Minister Munch and Minister of Justice Zahle. The deputation protested against the "cowardly cancellation" of the visit of Dr. Goebbels and handed the two Ministers letters of resignation which they were advised to sign and present to the King, but the two Ministers did not accept this advice.

Sentences were imposed on Dec. 16 on the principals involved in the fraudulent dealings and subsequent collapse of the Harald W. Plum Companies last year. M. Plum, who was a well-known butter exporter, committed suicide in October, 1929, after the disclosure of frauds aggregating \$4,000,000 in the companies which he controlled. Antonio Deconinck Smith, managing director of the Nordisk Trust Company, was sent to prison for three and one-half years for fraud, including a charge of inducing the Danish-American Corporation to lend the Nordisk Trust \$620,628, the greater part of which was subsequently lost. Smith also was found guilty of inducing an American firm, Pynchon & Co., to buy shares in the Danish-American Corporation to the amount of \$4,000,000 by means of misleading information.

The question of whether or not the former Baltic provinces can be welded into some sort of workable unit, for a greater degree of mutual benefit than has hitherto been the case, was basic in the negotiations between Estonia and Lithuania which began in the Lithuanian capital on Dec. 9. At

the ceremonies which marked the opening of the negotiations, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister emphasized the necessity for the continued independence of the Baltic republics and of finding ways and means for closer economic and political cooperation. Mr. Sepp, the Estonian representative, interpreted the occasion as the culmination of a process which has long been bringing the two countries together. It was reported on Dec. 15 that the abolition of passport visas between the two contracting States would become a part of the treaty which is now in the making.

A Cabinet crisis was averted in

Latvia on Dec. 22. At the plenary meeting of the Saeima on Dec. 19 the Social Democrats accused Minister of Communications Osolnins of having run the errands of his political party, the Democratic Centre. The attack led to a vote of censure of M. Osolnins, a vote made possible by the Nationalists joining hands with the Socialists in registering the minus sign in the Minister's political ledger. While the outcome placed the Celmins Government in a precarious position, the Ministry was able to obtain, three days later, a vote of confidence. In the end only the Democratic Centre withdrew from the government coalition.

THE SOVIET UNION

THE long-expected extinction of Alexis Rykov as a political influence in the Soviet Union oc-

curred in December when the plenary session of party chiefs removed him from the presidency of the Council of People's Commissars and the chairmanship of the Council of Labor and Defense, two of the highest posts in the Soviet Government. Immediately after this action, the Control Committee of the Communist party dismissed him from the party's board of strategy—the powerful Political Bureau. Thus at a stroke this veteran of the revolution lost his connection with the official political structure of the government and the major portion of his influence in the extra-legal organs of the Bolshevik dictatorship. At the same time, Mikhail Tomski, Rykov's partner in the Right Opposition, was dismissed from his post as vice president of the Supreme Economic Council along with two lesser men, A. Dagodov and V. Ossinski. V. Molotov, who has been Stalin's right-hand man in the secretariat of the party and is known for his unwavering support of his lead-

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er's policies, has succeeded Rykov as official head of the Soviet State. Stalin himself has taken membership

on the Council of Labor and Defense, his first governmental office since 1922, when he resigned from the Commissariat of Nationalities. Many other changes have been made affecting principally the minor positions in the officialdom of the party and the subordinate administrative services of the government.

This latest shake-up has immediate connection with a similar occurrence, reported in these pages last month, in the course of which Sertsov, president of the Council of Commissars of the Russian Republic; Lominadze, secretary of the Georgian Communist party; Andrejejev, a member of the Supreme War Council, and many other prominent men were driven from their posts. It is the climax of Stalin's struggle with that faction of his party which has taken a defeatist attitude toward the Five-Year Plan, arguing the inability of the Russian people to endure the grievous strain of the industrialization program, and

urging a slower and less revolutionary pace. The outcome has been to leave Stalin in complete command of the situation both within the party and the government, and thus to set at rest all question as to the policy of the Soviet Union in the immediate future.

The casual reader of Russian news, noting frequent and apparently unrelated announcements of the rise and fall of personalities in the party and the government, can form no adequate conception of the trend of forces since Lenin's death in 1923. In truth, the past seven years have witnessed a thoroughgoing revolution in the political structure of Russia. Of the original party membership not more than a fifth remain at the present time. Of the group of leaders who formed Lenin's general staff in 1923 Stalin alone holds power today. The death of Lenin opened the way for dissensions over matters of policy and the distribution of offices. Stalin at the time was one of the humblest of the country's leaders, occupying the comparatively unimportant office of party secretary. This office he used to win the support of the local party officers and through them to control the delegations to the central party conferences where the "line of policy" is approved; and to attach to himself a majority of the members of the all-powerful Political Bureau through which the party exercises control over the government.

Gaining power by these means to determine the policy of the party, Stalin has proceeded to destroy every one who ventured to oppose him. Trotsky, representing the extreme Left Wing, was the first to fall; and when he attempted to reinstate himself through a breach of party discipline he was driven into exile. Kamenev, Zinoviev and Radek, after aiding Stalin in his fight against Trotsky, were forced into opposition and reduced to impotence. Now Tomski and Rykov, also Stalin's allies in the

earlier intraparty struggle, have been condemned as too conservative and reduced to the ranks. Chicherin of the old guard, for many years Russia's Foreign Minister, has been replaced by Litvinov, a younger man and a satellite of Stalin. Lunacharsky has lost his post as Commissar of Education. Bukharin is without influence and holds his place only by abject subservience to Stalin's will. Not even in the height of Lenin's power was the dictatorship of Russia gathered so completely into the hands of a single individual as at the present moment.

One aspect of Rykov's dismissal has aroused considerable comment in the press. The Soviet Union in its dealings with foreign governments has steadfastly refused to accept responsibility for the doings of the Communist party and the Third International, asserting that these are wholly unofficial organizations. The propaganda of the Third International is a point of friction between Russia and the principal capitalist countries with which it maintains diplomatic relations, and a formidable impediment to recognition of the Soviet régime by the United States. At the present moment Great Britain is protesting that the broadcasting of revolutionary propaganda addressed to England's embittered miners by the Moscow wireless station is a breach of the Anglo-Russian treaty. Through the Summer and Fall Germany had similar reason to complain against repeated harangues in the German tongue which reached the restive German people through the radio. To expose the weakness of Russia's defense against such protests it is necessary merely to recall that Rykov was the titular head of the Soviet State and that his removal was decreed not by any governmental organ of that State but by the leaders of the Communist party—the same group which controls the Red International and lays down the line of policy for all orthodox Communist

groups in all parts of the world.

The ruthless determination of the Bolshevik dictatorship, illustrated by these party changes, is disclosed again in the recent labor decrees. Except for household servants, specialists and other numerically unimportant classes, the wage earners of Russia can obtain employment only through the official labor exchanges. Wages are fixed by governmental decree after consultation with the trade unions and are hereafter to be uniform throughout the country for each type of labor. The worker retains his right to vacate his job on seven days' notice, but may be punished as a "malicious disorganizer of production" by being refused employment for a period of six months. Engineers and technicians may be transferred at the option of the government to any city in the union, and refusal to obey subjects them to similar punishment of six months' idleness. There is a sting to this form of discipline which it is difficult for people of other countries to appreciate, since to be stricken from the list of the employed in Russia deprives the individual of the workers' privileges to buy food and other necessities. An unemployed person registered at a labor exchange must accept any job offered him or suffer a similar penalty. Unemployment relief has been abolished outright on the ground that the 600,000 people receiving the dole are justly to be classified in the group of those refusing work. These decrees are explained as emergency measures intended to check the growing turnover of labor and promote the purposes of the Five-Year Program. Whether they lend support to the contention of those who would exclude Soviet goods from this country on the grounds that all Russian wares are the product of forced labor and therefore proscribed by our tariff laws is a matter on which judgment may differ. But at any rate it is obvious that free labor, as the term is understood

in capitalist countries, no longer exists in Russia.

The extent of this power of the Soviet Government to command the obedience of the wage earner through control of the food supply can hardly be exaggerated. There exists, it is true, a certain amount of trade in foodstuffs outside the official agencies; but the inadequacy of these independent resources to serve the needs of those who rebel against the dictatorship was disclosed recently when the Soviet Government established a number of open food shops in Moscow and Leningrad and invited the patronage of the proscribed classes. According to press reports the prices charged were fantastic: butter, \$5 a pound; rice, \$1.25 a pound; cheese, \$6 a pound; smoked fish, \$5 a pound; potatoes, 25 cents a pound. Even so the prices were set below those prevailing in the open market, since it was the purpose of the experiment to drive the private trader out of existence. It is indicative of the desperate condition of the unfortunate classes who are out of favor with the nation's rulers that these shops should be crowded with eager purchasers.

A decree of Dec. 22, 1930, reorganizing the government's food services and taking over the management of all restaurants and boarding houses is the beginning of a further extension of this policy of discipline through hunger. The decree states that the food services had not been sufficiently vigorous as agencies in the class war, adding laconically that for this reason forty-eight of their officials had recently been shot. A hundred trusted agents of the party have been placed at strategic points in the food administration to see to it that through the withholding of supplies "all subversive elements may be crushed." Even more far-reaching in its potentialities is the new policy with regard to the restaurants. These are taken under close supervision ostensibly to improve their services and

reduce their costs; but the decree announces that the ultimate objective is "to abolish domestic preparation of meals." This is, of course, in line with the tenets of communism which leave no room for the customary economic functions of the family; but the decree is of greater significance as a phase of the immediate policy of dictatorship. If carried to its logical conclusion of prohibiting the preparation of food in private homes, this policy of making the serving of meals a governmental function will complete the dictators' control over the lives of their subjects through monopoly of the food supply. It should be noted, however, that all these policies with respect to food are effective only in the cities and among the wage earners of the villages. The 120,000,000 subjects of the Soviet Union who live on the land have immediate access to the food supply.

The second year of the Five-Year Program ended on Dec. 31, after having been extended three months by the decree of last September, which reorganized the Soviet fiscal year to coincide with the calendar year. It would be in point at this time, therefore, to balance accounts and appraise the record of achievement; but this is impossible on the basis of the available information. To be sure, the plenary session of party executives announced on Dec. 22 that the program for the year had been unqualifiedly successful; but no other verdict could have been expected from the group which had just engaged in disciplining the Right Opposition. The official Soviet press has made it quite clear that the record is not entirely satisfactory, especially in transportation, the mines and the general category of labor costs and labor discipline. Until final figures for the year are published, the exact rate of progress in the industrial segment of the nation's economy cannot be determined, though the figures for November showing total industrial production 41 per cent

higher than in November, 1929, indicate notable achievement.

The agrarian phases of the program, on the other hand, have been undoubtedly successful. In fact, it is not going too far to say that the Soviet rulers owe the survival of their program in this critical second year to the triumph of their agrarian tactics. It was a great risk to hustle the individualistic and tradition-bound peasant population, which numbers 80 per cent of the country's people, into novel and distrusted forms of organization and activity, as was done when the government bribed, cajoled or coerced over half the farmers into joining the new collectives. The crucial test was certain to come with the first harvest. Fortunately for the Communist program, this harvest has been sufficiently abundant to convince the doubtful. A combination of propitious weather and improved technique of cultivation has produced a bumper crop, averaging on the collective farms an increase in yield per acre almost a third larger than last year's production on the same land under individual cultivation. Under this stimulus the area devoted to Winter planting has increased by 1,000,000 acres, thus fulfilling the specifications of the program.

SHORTCOMINGS OF SOVIET INDUSTRY

With reference to the article, "The Five-Year Plan Under Fire," published in January *CURRENT HISTORY*, M. Mendelson of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, New York, writes:

Henry D. Baker makes the attempt to prove that the plan is meeting with failures on all sides and yet that its success in increasing the output of commodities is endangering the well-being of the United States. He cites a number of instances of shortcomings in the operation of Soviet industry. The Soviet press, in line with the policy of ruthless self-criticism and exposure of mistakes, reports many such cases. But Mr. Baker's method of representing a newly completed building by a picture of some broken and discarded

bricks picked up near the site, is hardly to be taken seriously. He paints a particularly gloomy picture of the difficulties encountered in Soviet tractor plants, but forgets to mention that last year Soviet tractor production was 9,300 units, as against 5,000 specified in the Five-Year Plan. His conception of the fundamental features of Soviet economy finds its expression in the statement that the purchasing power of the Soviet population is much below the level of production, and hence there arises the danger of Soviet "dumping." It is a well-known fact, commented on by practically every foreign observer, that the situation is quite the reverse and that Soviet industry is failing to meet the enormously increased demands of the population. But

Mr. Baker is out, at all costs, to show the menace of Soviet exports. He is particularly concerned over the anthracite industry. As a matter of fact, Soviet anthracite imports here amount to less than one-quarter of 1 per cent of domestic anthracite production, while Soviet coal commands a higher price than that of the domestic product. Mr. Baker cries for protection against Soviet exports to this country, which are only one-fifth as great as purchases here for the Soviet Union. A conservative estimate places the number of American workers engaged last year on Soviet orders at 60,000. It seems to be the aim of certain interests attempting to undermine American-Soviet trade to "dump" thousands of American workers into the street.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

GREAT excitement arose in Turkey two days before Christmas because of an attempt

in the village of Menemen, near Smyrna, to start a revolution. Six fanatics, led by a dervish (a member of a religious order) named Mehemet, appeared from the hills and denounced the evils of wearing the hat and using the new alphabet. A young school teacher (or a young officer) started to call the police but was seized and beheaded. Later gendarmes arrived and the rebels took refuge in a mosque. According to reports two gendarmes were killed and four civilians were wounded before the rebels were either killed or captured.

The reaction throughout Turkey was greatly out of proportion to the size of the immediate outbreak. It was clearly believed that an extensive organization supported by many clericals and dervishes had been built up for the purpose of restoring the Caliphate. Within a few days there were hundreds of arrests, mostly of members of religious groups, but also of some members of Fethi Bey's Liberal Republican party. The People's party, at

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Ankara, on Dec. 30, held an all-day meeting, after which martial law was proclaimed in the disaffected re-

gion, although signs of uprising appeared elsewhere. A law was proposed which would give the Ministry of Justice powers to inflict quick judgment on citizen-offenders. The press everywhere condemned the outbreak vigorously. The fanatics belonged to the sect of Nakshibend dervishes, although all dervish orders were suppressed some years ago.

The government was the more apprehensive because of reports a few days earlier of the renewal of fighting by the Kurds in the East. As in earlier outbreaks the Persians were accused of cooperating with the Kurds. Certain changes were made in the Turkish Cabinet, perhaps in connection with the events of the revolt. In December, furthermore, seventeen young Turkish men and women were on trial in Istanbul charged with a Communist conspiracy against the government. Besides the method of repression, certain journalists advocated the drilling of youth in Turkish Nationalism, more or less in imitation of Fascist methods in Italy.



THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

On Nov. 25 Turkey paid only one-third of about \$5,000,000 due semi-annually on the pre-war debt, according to the agreement made in 1928. The Council of the Debt in Paris considered this a default, and refused to send delegates to negotiate.

The case of the heirs of Sultan Abdul Hamid against the British, Italian and French Governments to recover his property was rejected by two of the three courts before which it was tried on the ground of no jurisdiction, since these properties had not been subject to war measures.

The International Commission for the Assessment of Damage suffered in Turkey during the World War by subjects of the victors has published its final report; 3,037 claims were dealt with by a subcommission at Smyrna, 1,128 at Beirut and 955 at Istanbul. The commission handled about \$46,000,000 in cash, which enabled it to pay a total of 55 per cent on the claims allowed.

The Turkish draft budget for 1931-32 showed a reduction of about \$10,000,000 to an amount slightly over \$100,000,000. Army expenditure is reduced about \$2,000,000, but naval expenditure is increased by \$1,000,000. Most of the remainder of the reduction is taken from the appropriation for the public debt, which the foreign

bondholders feel to be an unfair arrangement.

EGYPTIAN COTTON

William M. Jardine, American Minister to Egypt, held a conference on Dec. 14 with Premier Sidky, and also the Egyptian Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Agriculture and the Under Secretary of Finance. The Premier presented to Mr. Jardine a memorandum urging that the United States reduce its high tariff on cotton, onions and manganese ore. During the past five years more than 80 per cent of Egypt's exports to the United States consisted of these commodities. In reply Mr. Jardine pointed out that cotton producers had suffered everywhere because of the decline in the purchase of automobile tires. He suggested that experts representing both countries study the problem of these commodities with a view to preparing a statement which he could send to Washington. This plan was accepted.

All Egypt was greatly concerned with the fall in the price of cotton, which reached almost the lowest point in history. The government resolved not to place on the market any of the large amounts which it has purchased in recent years. It also encouraged the planting of cotton (restricting only the long-stapled Egyptian cotton) in

contrast to the policy of previous governments, which when the price was low had ordered the reduction of acreage. Jobbers in cotton were forbidden to make contracts for fifteen days after Dec. 11, and deposits were required on speculative purchases.

The University of Al Azhar has again been reorganized, this time by a royal decree of 101 articles. King Fuad will appoint the rector of the university, and the religious heads of the four orthodox sects. The university will have three faculties, of Islamic law, religious science and the Arabic language. Modern science will for the first time have an important place in the curriculum. New regulations provide for better control of student examination, fellowships and discipline.

Late in November the Council of Ministers authorized the government to join in a new bank of agricultural credit. The government is to provide half the capital of \$10,000,000, and advance in the course of four years an additional \$30,000,000. The bank is to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest on this money, and will make loans on crops and agricultural operations at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent. In case of delinquent payments the rate may be advanced, but not to more than 9 per cent.

PALESTINE ELECTIONS

In spite of persistent reports that elections to the Jewish Assembly would not take place, voters went to the polls on Jan. 5. Although all parties had carried on an active campaign, not more than 35 or 40 per cent of the Jewish electorate cast ballots. Early returns indicated that the Labor party was leading, but it was still undetermined whether they

would be able to control the Assembly.

Secret negotiations were carried on between the British Government and the Jewish Agency during December. Dr. Weizmann expressed the opinion that the Seventeenth Zionist Congress, which is scheduled to meet at Carlsbad in February, might well be postponed. Meanwhile there was a definite tendency to put an end to statements likely to cause further controversy.

According to recent reports, 5,883 Jews entered Palestine between Oct. 1, 1929, and Sept. 30, 1930.

PROGRESS IN ARABIA

King Ibn Saud left his Summer quarters at Taif on Oct. 25 and proceeded to Mecca. At the same time his son, the Emir Saud, proceeded to Riyadh to take up his functions as Viceroy. The King lately gave the Marconi Company a contract for the erection of two six-kilowatt stations at Mecca and Riyadh, and ten half-kilowatt stations at other points, besides four portable installations on Ford trucks. A school of wireless telegraphy was opened at Jedda, and the whole scheme was expected to be in operation by the end of 1931.

A branch of the Arabian Foreign Office has been opened at Jedda, to keep in touch with the foreign representatives resident there. The government of Asir was reorganized, with a direct administration through officials from Nejd.

Former King Hussein of the Hejaz, now 74 years of age and ill, was permitted by the British Government to travel from Cyprus, where he has lived as a practical prisoner for five years, to Amman, where he will be under the care of the private physician of his son, the Emir Abdullah.

THE FAR EAST

THE Diet, Japan's Parliament, assembled for its fifty-ninth session on Dec. 24 in the midst of difficult problems of domestic and foreign politics. Premier Hamaguchi still lay in his hospital bed after the murderous attack of a ruffian "patriot," but was reported as convalescing rapidly. Foreign Minister Shidehara was Acting Premier. The government party, the Minseito with 267 members, faced 171 members of the Seiyukai and smaller minority groups with a combined membership of 22. Six vacancies existed in the lower house. Disputation among the factions composing the Minseito, some members desiring that Kenzo Adachi, Minister of Home Affairs, be made vice president of the party, others supporting General Ugaki, Minister of War, threatened to weaken the government. The party decided not to elect a vice president. Baron Shidehara expressed a desire to yield the acting premiership to a regular member of the Minseito, but the older advisers recommended that he remain.

The government was vehemently attacked in opposition speeches presaging Diet battles on account of its failure to relieve economic depression. References were made to the raising of the embargo on gold as a prime cause, but it was authoritatively stated that the present government would not re-establish the embargo. Muto Sanji, former head of Japan's largest spinning company, Kanegafuchi, pointed to Japan's 2,000,000 idle spindles, 30 per cent of the whole industry, in contrast to the Chinese factories, which he declared were mobilizing their full capacity. He said that whereas the United States had formerly purchased 85 per cent of its raw silk from Japan and only 15 per cent from China, now it was taking

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only 65 per cent from Japan, while its imports from China totaled 35 per cent. He attributed the differ-

ence in conditions to the rise of the value of the yen by 15 per cent, while the Chinese dollar dropped 55 per cent.

Unemployment continued to increase, with official figures placing it at 325,000, but unofficial estimates at more than 1,000,000. The discrepancy was believed to arise from the assistance given by families to those of their members temporarily in difficult circumstances. Finance Minister Inouye recommended to the Cabinet the raising of a loan of 34,000,000 yen [about \$17,000,000] for unemployment relief. He also reported that 300,000 tons of shipping were lying idle and that 5,000 seamen were out of work. An evidence of labor unrest was given last May Day (the government lifting censorship of news of the event on Nov. 28). On that day eighteen members of the Japan Young Men's Communist Union sought to force their way into a labor meeting, armed with swords, spears and revolvers. When the police resisted their attempt a fight occurred in which two policemen were wounded. The entire band was arrested. The *Osaka Mainichi* recommended the extension of the system of employment exchanges.

The new budget for 1931-2 was set by the government at 1,447,771,800 yen [about \$723,600,000]. Of this sum the navy was allotted \$105,170,500, of which \$4,770,000 represented the first year's savings from the London Naval Conference, to be applied to replenishment. The total savings allotted to the navy from that conference, amounting to \$197,000,000, were to be expended in a replenishment program covering six years, while an additional saving of \$67,000,000 was allotted to tax re-

duction. The War Department received \$94,201,000. The total budget was \$130,000,000 under that of the current year and \$165,000,000 under that for 1929-30.

Finance Minister Inouye told the Cabinet on Jan. 6 that he believed the worst of the business depression was over as far as Japan was concerned because definite signs of improvement were visible. Amplifying his statement to a newspaper correspondent on Jan. 7, the Minister said that the difficulties inseparable from restoration of the gold standard had been overcome. When gold shipments during the year were analyzed, it was seen that the net drain was in the neighborhood of 125,000,000 yen [about \$62,500,000]. About 50,000,000 yen shipped in the Fall on future exchange contracts were available for Spring import requirements. He, therefore, did not expect any great movement of gold during the coming months and had no anxiety regarding Japan's gold position in 1931. A continuance of low prices had stimulated buying, the Minister continued, and the main textile centres had reported that production was now 20 per cent greater than a year ago, with exports well maintained and increases likely. While raw silk prices were still nearly 50 per cent below the highest, farmers had reduced production costs, and this industry was now stable. An increase in unemployment had been expected at the year-end, but did not occur, the number of idle remaining, according to him, at 380,000. The coming budget, the Minister added, would show a reduction of 320,000,000 yen [about \$160,000,000] as compared with 1929. He did not suggest that Japan could enjoy prosperity while the rest of the world was depressed, but that the Japanese Government, by reducing taxation, and industrialists, by rationalizing and reducing costs, had obeyed economic laws and adjusted themselves to a new situation.

Japanese courts have been engaged

recently in a series of trials of cases involving prominent officials and politicians on charges of corruption. Ichita Kobashi, former Minister of Education, received a nominal sentence of ten months' imprisonment for accepting a bribe of \$5,000. General Hanzo Yamanashi, former Governor General of Korea, was indicted for a similar offense. T. Shima, Osaka business man, admitted in court that he had given \$50,000 to Yusuke Tsurumi and his fellow-members of the so-called Liberal party to secure their votes against a motion to censure the Tanaka Government in 1928.

RAILWAYS IN MANCHURIA

The Manchurian question received fresh attention, owing to the progress being made by the Chinese in constructing, through the medium of the Netherlands Harbor Works Company, a Dutch concern, a new South Manchurian port, Hulutao, which is situated to the west of Dairen and Niuchwang. This port was viewed by the Chinese as an all-Chinese outlet for traffic brought down from the four northeastern provinces of Jehol, Liaoning (formerly Fengtien), Kirin and Heilungkiang. Within recent years new railway lines have been constructed by the Chinese with their own funds or on their behalf by Japanese interests with funds raised in Japan. The length of these lines, quite apart from the South Manchuria Railway or the Chinese Eastern Railway, now has reached 1,205 miles. Hitherto they have operated as feeders to the Chinese Eastern or the South Manchuria railways, but with the development of their own port the Chinese are seeking to connect their lines to secure through passage for passengers and goods to Hulutao. In addition to the completed lines there are many in the stage of survey or mere projects, which appear likely in a considerable number of cases to be carried through.

In the past the Japanese Government has protested on occasion

against the building of parallel lines or lines that would compete with the South Manchuria Railway. These protests have not been followed up, and the Chinese have gone ahead in the development of the region. The Japanese relied upon a secret agreement of 1905, by which, it is alleged, China engaged not to construct any main line in the neighborhood of and parallel to the South Manchuria line or any branch line which might be prejudicial to the interest of that line. Willoughby's *Foreign Rights and Interests in China* states in a footnote that T'ang Shaoyi, the Chinese negotiator of the treaty of 1905, declared that no agreement of this nature had been signed by the Chinese. The Japanese Government, however, maintained its stand on this point and a recent utterance of the president of the South Manchuria Railway, Dr. Sengoku, indicated an intent to rely upon it. He is reported by the *Osaka Mainichi* of

Dec. 6 as follows: "It is no use quarreling with China about the railways she has already constructed in Manchuria contrary to the agreement, but henceforth the S. M. R. Company will not allow China to construct railways close to the South Manchuria line. There is a report that China is planning to construct other railways in Manchuria which will seriously menace the S. M. R., but we will not tolerate this."

Recently the Government of Manchuria at Mukden has requested Japanese acquiescence in a linking-up of certain lines built with Chinese money with other Chinese lines built with Japanese funds, against which the Japanese hold mortgages. The lines in question are the Kirin-Changchun, mortgaged to Japan; the Kirin-Tunhua, similarly restricted, and the Kirin-Hailung Railway, wholly Chinese-controlled. A fourth link, the Mukden-Hailung Railway, might then be



THE FAR EAST

added, from which a complete line of rail would be available from Changchun to Hulutao without the use of the South Manchuria Railway. In some quarters in Japan such a development appeared prejudicial to the prosperity of the leased lines of the S. M. R. In other circles there was a tendency to greater confidence that with the development of Manchuria there would be room for all the railways that could be built with available funds.

The attitude of the Japanese Foreign Office was indicated on Dec. 12, when Eichi Kimura, director of the S. M. R., was sent to Mukden to discuss outstanding railway issues with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. It was stated officially that Japan would make no demands opposing the building of parallel lines but would seek a working agreement to the end that Chinese and Japanese lines might have equal treatment and compete on equal terms. Mr. Kimura was instructed also to insist upon the fulfillment of the contracts now held in Japan for the building of a line from Tunhua to the border of Northern Korea and for a second line from Changchun to Taonan. The Chinese are strongly opposed to the former contract. The Japanese press carried reports that the Skoda firm of Czechoslovakia, in which American capital was believed to be interested, was making a secret agreement with Chang Hsueh-liang for railway building.

Census figures were released, showing the population of the Japanese Empire to be 90,395,041, an increase of 6,938,112 since 1925. Of the total the figures for Japan proper were 64,447,724, for Korea 21,057,969, for Formosa 4,594,161. In 1925 Japan proper had a population of 59,736,822; in 1920 the figure was 55,963,053.

CHINESE FINANCES

The Government of China at Nanking, by placing new tariff rates in effect on Jan. 1, expected to increase

the revenues by \$20,000,000 gold. Increases were general and the new rates varied from 7½ to 50 per cent. Cereals, flour, books and a number of other articles were to be admitted free of duty, while the Ministry of Finance announced that the internal tax on goods in transit called *likin* would cease to be effective on Jan. 1. This tax, however, was believed certain to continue effective until adequate substitutes were provided even in the provinces recognizing the mandates of Nanking. Excise taxes were being devised to provide the large sums previously received from the *likin* system. The abolition of the *likin* was resisted by some provinces, notably Shantung and Hopei. This continuation of *likin* collection together with the new import tariffs was paralyzing trade. But the abolition of the *likin* would throw 300,000 members of the upper classes out of work and this group was naturally opposed to any cooperation with Nanking. The economic situation was still further complicated by the fall of value of silver to the lowest point in the history of China.

"Communist" and "bandit" raids, kidnappings, beheadings and similar unhappy evidences of discontent composed the bulk of the China news during December. A plot to kill President Chiang Kai-shek was believed to have been thwarted at Hankow. Lichow, Hunan Province, was reported under siege by Communist forces. At Canton martial law was declared, in anticipation of uprisings. Foreign and Chinese naval craft were sent to the island of Hainan upon word that missionaries were in danger at Hoihow, centre for the work of thirty-six American and British missionaries. Southern Kiangsi continued to be disturbed by irregular armies. Government armies were operating in that area but were as yet unable to establish control.

Chiang Kai-shek's harassing enemies in Kwangsi, Generals Pai Chung-hsi and Li Tsung-jen, continued in revolt.

They were centred on Nanning and Kweilin, in the south and north of Kwangsi, respectively. Captures of Yangtse cities in Hunan and Kiangsi by the so-called "Reds" continued to exhibit the difficulties of the government's position. But a hopeful note was struck in the voluntary release of fourteen Chinese and foreign Lazarist missionaries, apparently without ransom, who had been in captivity since their seizure at Kian in Kiangsi on Oct. 6. From distant Kansu came reports of wholesale slaughter by Mohammedans of Mongol extraction who have for centuries remained at odds with the Chinese inhabitants of the region. General Chang Fa-kwei, leader of the "Ironsides," was reported in an invasion of Yunnan.

The disputes with Japan over cable rights have been settled amicably, the contracts being extended for another fourteen years. Negotiations were continued with the United States and Great Britain concerning extraterritoriality. A Japanese report stated that the United States had offered to abandon the right for civil cases, but maintained that the time was not yet ripe to surrender criminal jurisdiction. From the same sources it was learned that Foreign Minister Wang was preparing to request the surrender, upon compensation, of the legation quarter in Peiping. While Japan stood out for a consideration of the return of residential concessions only in connection with a settlement of other issues, France was reported as expressing willingness to return her Hankow concession within five years. Japanese reports stated that the Chinese Government had in view an approach to American bankers for a huge loan, and it became apparent early in January that the Canadian Government was interested in cooperating with the United States on this question. A

Canadian dispatch on Jan. 2 referred to "a great project, initiated by the Hon. H. H. Stevens, Canada's Minister of Trade and Commerce, for the granting of a billion-dollar loan to China, designed to reinstate the values of silver all through the Orient and finally to place China 'on her feet' so completely that she will become a huge and profitable market for British, Canadian and American goods." It was reported that Mr. Stevens had discussed this plan with Prime Minister MacDonalld while in London for the imperial conference, and on his return to America had consulted Owen D. Young, who was said to be interested in the idea.

Corroborating opinions were almost simultaneously voiced in the United States where a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been studying since March, 1930, the causes of the slump in our China trade. The committee was said to believe that money poured into China would provide work which would cause the armies of the war lords to disintegrate.

The government announced that the People's Conference, to be convened on May 5, would be composed of 520 delegates representing the provinces, territories and overseas Chinese. Representation was to be on the basis of interests rather than only geographical, selected from farmers' societies, labor unions, chambers of commerce, guilds, educational associations, professional societies and the Kuomintang.

The National Government abolished the Ministry of Health and transferred its functions to the Ministry of the Interior. This action was condemned by the *China Critic*, which pointed to the record of the Ministry of Health as one of marked accomplishment.

Pope Pius XI on Marriage and Morals

Full Text of the Encyclical

An encyclical of Pope Pius XI, "On Christian Marriage in Relation to Present Conditions, Needs and Disorders of Society," was published on Jan. 9, 1931. It will be known as the encyclical *Casti Connubii*, from the opening words of the Latin text. For the first time in papal history, the Latin text was issued side by side with official translations of it into English, Italian, French, German and Spanish, the full English text being cabled to America by The Associated Press. The document is in three parts, the first dealing with the Catholic doctrine on the sacrament of marriage, the second opposing such modern tendencies as birth control and companionate marriage, and the third stating the remedies which the Pope feels will restore matrimony to its proper place in modern society. The Vatican's message is particularly interesting in the light of the opinions expressed at the Lambeth Conference in England in the Summer of 1930. The full text of the encyclical follows:

HOW great is the dignity of chaste wedlock, venerable brethren, may be judged best from these, that Christ our Lord, Son of the Eternal Father, having assumed the nature of fallen man, not only, with His loving desire of compassing the redemption of our race, ordained it in an especial manner as the principle and foundation of domestic society and therefore of all human intercourse, but also raised it to the rank of a truly and "great" sacrament of the new law, restored it to the original purity of its divine institution, and accordingly entrusted all its discipline and care to His spouse, the Church.

In order, however, that among men of every nation and every age the desired fruits may be obtained from this renewal of matrimony, it is necessary, first of all, that men's minds be illuminated with the true doctrine of Christ regarding it, and, secondly, that Christian spouses, the weakness of their wills strengthened by the eternal grace of God, shape all their ways of thinking and of acting in conformity with that pure law of Christ so as to obtain true peace and happiness for themselves and for their families.

Yet not only do we, looking with paternal eye on the universal world from this Apostolic See as from a watchtower, but you, also, venerable brethren, see, and, seeing, deeply grieve with us that a great number of men, forgetful of that divine work of redemption, either entirely ignore or shamelessly deny the great sanctity of Christian wedlock, or even, relying on the false principles of a new and utterly perverse morality, too often trample it under foot.

And since these most pernicious errors and depraved morals have begun to spread even among the faithful and are gradually gaining ground, in our office as Christ's vicar upon earth and supreme shepherd and teacher we consider it our duty to raise our voice to

keep the flock committed to our care from poisoned pastures and, as far as in us lies, to preserve it from harm.

We have decided, therefore, to speak to you, venerable brethren, and through you to the whole Church of Christ and indeed the whole human race, on the nature and dignity of Christian marriage, on the advantages and benefits which accrue from it to the family and to human society itself, on the errors contrary to this most important point of the gospel teaching, on the vices opposed to conjugal union, and lastly on the principal remedies to be applied.

In so doing we follow the footsteps of our predecessor Leo XIII, of happy memory, whose encyclical *Arcanum*, published fifty years ago, we hereby confirm and make our own, and while we wish to expound more fully certain points called for by the circumstances of our times, nevertheless we declare that, far from being obsolete, it retains its full force at the present day.

And to begin with that very encyclical, which is wholly concerned in vindicating the divine institution of matrimony, its sacramental dignity and its perpetual stability, let it be repeated as an immutable and inviolable fundamental doctrine that matrimony was not instituted or restored by man, but by God; not by man were the laws made to strengthen and confirm and elevate it, but by God, the author of nature, and by Christ our Lord, by whom nature was redeemed, and hence these laws cannot be subject to any human decrees or to any contrary pact even of the spouses themselves.

This is the doctrine of Holy Scripture, this is the constant tradition of the universal church, this the solemn definition of the Sacred Council of Trent, which declares and establishes from the words of Holy Writ itself that God is the author of the perpetual stability of the marriage bond, its unity and its firmness.

Yet, although matrimony is of its very nature of divine institution, the human will, too, enters into it and performs a most noble part. For each individual marriage, inasmuch as it is a conjugal union of a particular man and woman, arises only from the free consent of each of the spouses; and this free act of the will, by which each party hands over and accepts those rights proper to the state of marriage, is so necessary to constitute true marriage that it cannot be supplied by any human power.

This freedom, however, regards only the point whether the contracting parties really wish to enter upon matrimony or to marry this particular person; but the nature of matrimony is entirely independent of the free will of man, so that if one has once contracted matrimony he is thereby subject to its divinely made laws and its essential properties. For the angelic doctor, writing on conjugal honor and on the offspring which is the fruit of marriage, says:

"These things are so contained in matrimony by the very marriage pact that if anything to the contrary were expressed in the consent which makes the marriage it would not be a true marriage."

By matrimony, therefore, the souls of the contracting parties are joined and knit together directly and more intimately than are their bodies, and that not by any passing affection of sense or spirit, but by a deliberate and firm act of the will; and from this union of souls by God's decree a sacred and inviolable bond arises. Hence the nature of this contract, which is proper and peculiar to it alone, makes it entirely different both from the union of animals entered into by the blind instinct

of nature alone, in which neither reason nor free will plays a part, and also from the haphazard unions of men, which are far removed from all true and honorable conjunctions of wills and enjoy none of the rights of family life.

From this it is clear that legitimately constituted authority has the right and therefore the duty to restrict, to prevent and to punish those base unions which are opposed to reason and to nature; but since it is a matter which flows from human nature itself, no less certain is the teaching of our predecessor Leo XIII of happy memory:

"In choosing a state of life there is no doubt but that it is in the power and discretion of each one to prefer one or the other: either to embrace the counsel of virginity given by Jesus Christ or to bind himself in the bonds of matrimony. To take away from man the natural and primeval right of marriage, to circumscribe in any way the principal ends of marriage laid down in the beginning by God himself in the words 'increase and multiply,' is beyond the power of any human law."

Therefore the sacred partnership of true marriage is constituted both by the will of God and the will of man: From God comes the very institution of marriage, the ends for which it was instituted, the laws that govern it, the blessings that flow from it; while man, through generous surrender of his own person one to another for the whole span of life, becomes with the help and cooperation of God the author of each particular marriage, with the duties and blessings annexed thereto from divine institution.

Now when we come to explain, venerable brethren, what are the blessings that God has attached to true matrimony, and how great they are, there occur to us the words of that illustrious doctor of the Church whom we commemorated recently in our encyclical *Ad Salutem* on the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of his death. "These," says St. Augustine, "are all the blessings of matrimony on account of which matrimony itself is a blessing: offspring, conjugal faith and the sacrament," and now under these three heads is contained a splendid summary of the whole doctrine of Christian marriage the holy doctor himself expressly declared when he says:

"By mutual loyalty it is provided that there should be no carnal intercourse outside the marriage bond with another man or woman; with regard to offspring, that children should be begotten of love, tenderly cared for and educated in a religious atmosphere; finally, in its sacramental aspect that the marriage bond should not be broken and that a husband or wife, if separated, should not be joined to another even for the sake of offspring. This we regard as the law of marriage by which the fruitfulness of nature is adorned and the evil of incontinence is restrained."

Thus among the blessings of marriage the child holds the first place, and indeed the creator of the human race Himself, who in His goodness wished to use men as His helpers in the propagation of life, taught this when, distributing marriage in Paradise, He said to our first parents, and through them to all future spouses: "Increase and multiply, and fill the earth." As St. Augustine admirably deduces from the words of the Holy Apostle St. Paul to Timothy when he says: "The apostle himself is therefore a witness that marriage is for the sake of generation. 'I wish,' he says, 'young girls to marry.' And, as if some one said to him, 'Why?' he immediately adds, 'to beget children, to be mothers of families.'"

How great a boon of God this is, and what a blessing of matrimony, is clear from a consideration of man's dignity and of his sublime end, for man surpasses all other visible creatures by the superiority of his rational nature alone.

Besides, God wishes men to be born not only that they should live and fill the earth, but much more that they may be worshipers of God, that they may know Him and love Him and finally enjoy Him forever in Heaven; and this end, by reason of man being raised by God in a marvelous way to the supernatural order, surpasses all that eye hath seen and ear heard, and all that hath entered into the heart of man, from which it is easily seen how great a gift of divine goodness and how re-

markable a fruit of marriage are children born by the omnipotent power of God through the cooperation of those bound in wedlock.

But Christian parents must also understand that they are destined not only to propagate and preserve the human race on earth, indeed not only to educate any kind of worshipers of the true God, but to bring forth children who are to become members of the Church of Christ, to raise up fellow-citizens of the saints and members of God's household, that the worshipers of God and our Saviour may daily increase.

For although Christian spouses, even if sanctified themselves, cannot transmit sanctification to their progeny; nay, although the very natural process of generating life has become the way of death, by which original sin is passed on to posterity, nevertheless they share to some extent in the blessings of that primeval marriage of Paradise, since it is theirs to offer their offspring to the Church in order that by this most fruitful mother of the children of God they may be regenerated through the laver of baptism unto supernatural justice and finally be made living members of Christ, partakers of immortal life and heirs of that eternal glory to which we all aspire from our inmost heart.

If a true Christian mother weighs well these things she will indeed understand with a sense of deep consolation that of her the words of our Saviour were spoken: "A woman . . . when she hath brought forth the child remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world," and proving herself superior to all the pains and cares and solitudes of her maternal office with a more just and holy joy than that of the Roman matron, the mother of the Gracchi, she will rejoice in the Lord, crowned, as it were, with the glory of her offspring.

Both husband and wife, however, receiving these children with joy and gratitude from the hand of God, will regard them as a talent committed to their charge by God, not only to be employed for their own advantage or for that of an earthly commonwealth, but to be restored to God with interest on the day of reckoning.

The blessing of offspring, however, is not completed by the mere begetting of them. But something else must be added, namely, the proper education of the offspring. For the most wise God would have failed to make sufficient provision for children that had been born, and so for the whole human race, if He had not given to those to whom He had entrusted the power and right to beget them the power also and the right to educate them.

For no one can fail to see that children are incapable of providing wholly for themselves, even in matters pertaining to their natural life, and much less in those pertaining to the supernatural, but require for many years to be helped, instructed and educated by others.

Now, it is certain that both by the law of nature and of God this right and duty of educating their offspring belongs in the first place to those who began the work of nature by giving them birth, and they are indeed forbidden to leave unfinished this work and so expose it to certain ruin. But in matrimony provision has been made in the best possible way for this education of children that is so necessary. For, since the parents are bound together by an indissoluble bond, the care and mutual help of each is always at hand.

Since, however, we have spoken fully elsewhere on the Christian education of youth, let us sum it all up by quoting once more the words of St. Augustine: "In the offspring it is provided that they should be begotten lovingly and educated religiously." And this is also expressed succinctly in the Code of Canon Law: "The primary end of marriage is the procreating and the education of children."

Nor must we omit to remark, in fine, that since the duty entrusted to parents for the good of their children is of such high dignity and of such great importance every use of the faculty given by God for the procreation of new life is the right and the privilege of the marriage state alone, by the law of God and of nature, and must be confined absolutely within the sacred limits of that state.

The second blessing of matrimony which we said was mentioned by St. Augustine is the blessing of conjugal honor, which consists in the mutual fidelity of the spouses in fulfilling the marriage contract, so that what belongs to one of the parties by reason of this contract sanctioned by divine law may not be denied to him or permitted to any third person, nor may there be conceded to one of the parties that which, being contrary to the rights and laws of God and entirely opposed to matrimonial faith, can never be conceded.

Wherefore, conjugal faith, or honor, demands in the first place the complete unity of matrimony which the Creator Himself laid down in the beginning when He wished it to be not otherwise than between one man and one woman. And, although afterward this primeval law was relaxed to some extent by God, the Supreme Legislator, there is no doubt that the law of the Gospel fully restored that original and perfect unity, and abrogated all dispensations as the words of Christ and the constant teaching and action of the Church show plainly.

With reason, therefore, does the Sacred Council of Trent solemnly declare:

"Christ our Lord very clearly taught that in this bond two persons only are to be united and joined together when He said, 'Therefore they are no longer two but one flesh.'"

Nor did Christ our Lord wish only to condemn any form of polygamy or polyandry, as they are called, whether successive or simultaneous, and every other external dishonorable act, but, in order that the sacred bonds of marriage may be guarded absolutely inviolate, He forbade also even willful thoughts and desires of such like things: "But I say to you, that whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart," which words of Christ our Lord cannot be annulled even by the consent of one of the partners of marriage, for they express a law of God and of nature which no will of man can break or bend.

Nay, that mutual familiar intercourse between the spouses themselves, if the blessing of conjugal faith is to shine with becoming splendor, must be distinguished by chastity in such wise that husband and wife must bear themselves in all things with the law of God and of nature and endeavor always to follow the will of their most wise and holy Creator with the greatest reverence toward the work of God.

This conjugal faith, however, which is most aptly called by St. Augustine the "faith of chastity" blooms more freely, more beautifully and more nobly when it is rooted in that more excellent soil the love of husband and wife which pervades all the duties of married life and holds pride of place in Christian marriage. For matrimonial faith demands that husband and wife be joined in an especially holy and pure love, not as adulterers love each other, but as Christ loved the Church.

This precept the apostle laid down when he said: "Husbands love their wives as Christ also loved the Church," which of a truth he embraced with a boundless love not for the sake of his own advantage, but seeking only the good of his spouse.

The love, then, of which we are speaking is not that based on the passing lust of the moment nor does it consist in pleasing words only, but in the deep attachment of the heart which is expressed in action, since love is proved by deeds.

This outward expression of love in the home demands not only mutual help but must go further, indeed must have for its primary purpose that man and wife help each other day by day in forming and perfecting themselves in the interior life; so that through partnership in life they may advance ever more and more in virtue, and above all that they may grow in true love toward God and their neighbor; on which indeed "dependeth the whole law and the prophets."

For all men of every condition and in whatever honorable walk of life they may be can and ought to imitate that most perfect example of holiness placed before man by God, namely Christ our Lord, and by God's grace to arrive at the summit of perfection, as is proved by the example of many saints.

By this same love it is necessary that all the other rights and duties of the marriage state be regulated so that the words of the apostle, "Let the husband render the debt to the wife, and the wife also in like manner to the husband," express not only a law of justice but a norm of charity.

Domestic society being confirmed therefore by this bond of love, it is necessary that there should flourish in it "the order of love," as St. Augustine calls it. This order includes both privacy of the husband with regard to the wife and children, and the ready subjection of the wife and her willing obedience which the apostle commends in these words: "Let women be subject to their husbands

as to the Lord, because the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church."

This subjection, however, does not deny or take away the liberty which fully belongs to the woman both in view of her dignity as a human person and in view of her most noble office as wife and mother and companion; nor does it bid her obey her husband's every request even if not in harmony with right reason or with the dignity due to a wife; nor in fine does it imply that the wife should be put on a level with those persons who in law are called minors, to whom it is not customary to allow free exercise of their rights on account of their lack of mature judgment or of their ignorance of human affairs.

But it forbids that exaggerated license which cares not for the good of the family, it forbids that in this body which is the family, the heart be separated from the head to the great detriment of the whole body and the proximate danger of ruin. For, if the man is the head, the woman is the heart, and, as he occupies the chief place in ruling, so she may and ought to claim for herself the chief place in love.

Again, this subjection of wife to husband in its degree and manner may vary according to the different conditions of persons, place and time. In fact, if the husband neglect his duty, it falls to the wife to take his place in directing the family. But the structure of the family and its fundamental law established and confirmed by God must always and everywhere be maintained intact.

With great wisdom our predecessor Leo XIII. of happy memory, in the encyclical which we have already mentioned on Christian marriage, teaches with regard to this order to be maintained between man and wife: "The man is the ruler of the family and the head of the woman, but, because she is flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, let her be subject and obedient to the man not as a servant but as a companion, so that nothing be lacking of honor or of dignity in the obedience which she pays. Both in him who rules and in her who obeys, since each bears the image, the one of Christ, the other of the Church, let divine charity be the constant guide of their mutual relations."

These, then, are the elements which compose the blessing of conjugal faith: unity, chastity, honorable noble obedience, which are at the same time an enumeration of the benefits which are bestowed on husband and wife in their married state, benefits by which the peace, the dignity and the happiness of matrimony are securely preserved and fostered. Wherefore it is not surprising that this conjugal faith has always been counted among the most priceless and special blessings of matrimony.

But this accumulation of benefits is completed and, as it were, crowned by that blessing of Christian marriage which in the words of St. Augustine we have called the sacrament, by which is denoted both the indissolubility of the bond and the raising and hallowing of the contract by Christ Himself whereby He made it an efficacious sign of grace.

In the first place, Christ Himself lays stress on the indissolubility and firmness of the marriage bond when He says: "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder," and "Every one that putteth away his wife and marieth another committeth adultery, and he that marieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery."

And St. Augustine clearly places what he calls the blessing of matrimony in this indissolubility when he says: "In the sacrament it is provided that the marriage bond should not be broken, and that a husband or wife if separated should not be joined to another even for the sake of offspring."

And this inviolable stability, although not in the same perfect measure in every case, belongs to every true marriage, for the word of the Lord: "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder," since it was spoken of the marriage of our first parents, the prototype of every future marriage, must of necessity include all true marriages without exception.

Therefore, although before Christ the sublimeness and the severity of the primeval law was so tempered that Moses permitted it to the chosen people of God on account of the hardness of their hearts that a bill of divorce might be given in certain circumstances, nevertheless, Christ by virtue of His supreme legislative power, recalled this concession of greater liberty and restored the primeval law in its integrity by those words which must never be forgotten: "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Wherefore, our predecessor, Pius VI. of happy memory, most wisely said, writing to the Bishop of Agria:

"Hence it clearly appears that marriage, even in the state of nature and certainly long before it was raised to the dignity of a sacrament, was divinely instituted in such a way that it should carry with it a perpetual and indissoluble bond which cannot therefore be dissolved by any civil law.

"Therefore, although the sacramental element may be

absent from a marriage as is the case among unbelievers, still in such a marriage, inasmuch as it is a true marriage there must remain and indeed there does remain that perpetual bond which by divine right is so bound up with matrimony from its first institution that it is not subject to any civil power.

"And so, whatever marriage is said to be contracted, either it is so contracted that it is really a true marriage, in which case it carries with it that enduring bond which by divine right is inherent in every true marriage, or it is thought to be contracted without that perpetual bond, and in that case there is no marriage, but an illicit union opposed of its very nature to the divine law, which therefore cannot be entered into or maintained."

And if this stability seems to be open to exception, however rare the exception may be, as in the case of certain natural marriages between unbelievers, or if amongst Christians in the case of those marriages which though valid had not been consummated, that exception does not depend on the will of men nor on that of any merely human power, but on divine law, of which the only guardian and interpreter is the Church of God.

However, not even this power can ever affect for any cause whatsoever a Christian marriage which is valid and has been consummated, for as it is plain that here the marriage contract has its full completion, so, by the will of God, there is also the greatest firmness and indissolubility which may not be destroyed by any human authority.

If we wish with all reverence to inquire into the intimate reason of this divine decree, venerable brethren, we shall easily see it in the mystical significance of Christian marriage which is fully and perfectly verified in consummated marriage between Christians. For, as the apostle says in his epistle *Quomodo ab initio Innumus* to the Ephesians, the marriage of Christians recalls that most perfect union which exists between Christ and the Church: *Est, ego autem dico, in Christo sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico, in Christo et in ecclesia, which union as long as Christ shall live and the Church through Him, can never be dissolved by any separation. And this St. Augustine clearly declares in these words:*

"This is safeguarded in Christ and the Church, that dwelling with living spouse he shall never be separated by divorce. The observance of this sacrament is such in the City of God, that is, in the Church of Christ, that when for the sake of begetting children, either women marry or are taken to wife, it is wrong to leave a spouse that is sterile in order to take another by whom children may be had.

"Any one doing this is guilty of adultery, just the same as if marrying another, not by the law of the day according to which when one's partner is put away another is allowed to be taken, which the Lord let Moses permit, also because of the hardness of hearts of the people of Israel; but by the law of the gospel."

Indeed, how many and how important are the benefits which flow from the indissolubility of matrimony cannot escape any one who gives even a brief consideration either to the good of the spouses and the offspring or to the welfare of human society. First of all, the spouses possess a positive guarantee of the enduringness of this stability which that generous yielding of their persons and the intimate fellowship of their hearts by their nature strongly require, since true love never fails away.

Besides a strong bulwark is set up in defense of a loyal chastity against incitements to infidelity should any be encountered either from within or from without; any anxious fear lest in adversity or old age the other spouse would prove unfaithful is precluded and in its place there reigns a calm sense of security. Moreover, the dignity of both man and wife is maintained and the mutual aid is most satisfactorily assured, while through the indissoluble bond, always enduring, the spouses are warned continuously that not for the sake of perishable things nor that they might serve their passions, but that they might procure one for the other high and lasting good have they entered into the nuptial partnership, to be dissolved only by death.

For the training and education of children, which must extend over a period of many years, it is splendidly adapted since the grace and long enduring burdens of this office are best borne by the united efforts of the parents, nor do lesser benefits accrue to human society as a whole. For experience has taught that unassailable stability in matrimony is a fruitful source of virtuous life and of habits of integrity, where this order of things obtains, the happiness and well-being of the nation is safely guarded. As the families and individuals are, so also is the State, for a body is determined by its parts. Wherefore, both for the private good of husband, wife and children, they indeed deserve well who generously defend the inviolable stability of matrimony.

But considering the benefits of the sacrament, besides

the firmness and indissolubility, there are also much higher benefits, as the word "sacrament" itself very aptly indicates; for, to Christians, this is not a meaningless and empty name. Christ the Lord, the initiator and "perfecter" of the holy sacraments, by raising the matrimony of His faithful to the dignity of a true sacrament of the new law, made it a sign and source of that peculiar internal grace by which "it perfects natural love, it confirms an indissoluble union and sanctifies both man and wife."

And since the valid matrimonial consent among the faithful was constituted by Christ as a sign of grace, the sacramental nature is so intimately bound up with Christian wedlock that there can be no true marriage between baptized persons "without it being by that very fact a sacrament."

By the very fact, therefore, that the faithful with sincere mind give such consent, they open up for themselves a treasure of sacramental grace from which they draw supernatural power, the fulfilling of their rights and duties faithfully, jointly, perseveringly, even unto death.

Hence this sacrament not only increases sanctifying grace, the permanent principle of the supernatural life in those who, as the expression is, place no obstacle in its way, but also adds particular gifts, dispositions, seeds of grace, by elevating and perfecting the natural powers in such a way that the parties are assisted not only in understanding but in knowing intimately, in adhering to firmly, in willing effectively, and in successfully putting into practice those things which pertain to the marriage state, its aims and duties, giving them, in fine, rights to the actual assistance of grace whenever they need it for fulfilling the duties of their state.

Nevertheless, since it is a law of Divine Providence in the supernatural order that men do not reap the full fruit of the sacraments which they receive after acquiring the use of reason, unless they cooperate with grace, the grace of matrimony will remain for the most part an unused talent hidden in the field unless the spouses exercise these supernatural powers and cultivate and develop the seeds of grace they have received.

If, however, doing all that lies within their power, they cooperate diligently, they will be able with ease to bear the burdens of their state and to fulfill their duties. By such sacrament they will be strengthened, sanctified and, in a manner, consecrated.

For, as St. Augustine teaches, just as by baptism and holy orders a man is set aside and the priestly office and the duties of Christian life or for the priestly office and is never deprived of their sacramental aid, almost in the same way (although not by a sacramental character), the faithful once joined by marriage ties can never be deprived of the help of the binding force of the sacraments. Indeed, as the holy doctor adds, even those who commit adultery carry with them the sacred yoke, although in this case not as a title to the glory of God, but for the ignominy of their guilty action, "as the soul by apostasy, withdrawing as it were from marriage with Christ, even though it may have lost its faith, does not lose the sacrament of faith which it received as a laver of regeneration."

These parties, let it be noted, not fettered but adorned by the golden bond of the sacrament, not hampered but assisted, should strive with all their might to the end that their wedlock, not only through the power and symbolism of the sacrament but also through their spirit and manner of life may be and may remain always the living image of that most fruitful union of Christ with the Church which is to be venerated as the sacred token of most perfect love.

All these things, venerable brethren, you must consider carefully and ponder over with a lively faith if you would see in their true light the extraordinary benefits of matrimony—offspring, conjugal faith and the sacrament. No one can fail to admire the divine wisdom, holiness and goodness which, while respecting the dignity of husband and wife, has provided so bountifully for the conservation and propagation of the human race by a single chaste and sacred fellowship of nuptial union.

When we consider the great excellence of chaste wedlock, venerable brethren, it appears all the more regrettable that particularly in our day we should witness this divine institution often scorned and on every side degraded.

For now, alas! not secretly nor under cover, but openly with all sense of shame put aside, now by word, again by writings, by theatrical productions of every kind, by romantic fiction, by amorous and frivolous novels, broadcast by radio telephony, in short by all the inventions of modern science, the sanctity of marriage is trampled upon and derided, divorce, adultery, all the basest vices either are extolled or at least are depicted in such colors as to appear to be free of all reproach and infamy.

Books are not lacking which dare to pronounce them

as scientific but which in truth are merely coated with a veneer of science in order that they may be more easily ingested by the masses. The doctrines defended in these are offered for sale as the productions of modern genius, of that genius, namely, which is considered to have emancipated itself from all those old-fashioned and immature opinions of the ancients, and to the number of these antiquated opinions they relegate the traditional doctrine of Christian marriage.

These thoughts are instilled into men of every class, rich and poor, workers and masters, lettered and unlettered, married and single, the godly and godless, old and young, but for these last, as easier prey, the worst snares are laid.

Not all the sponsors of these new doctrines are carried to the extremes of unbridled lust; there are those who, striving as it were to ride a middle course, believe nevertheless that something should be conceded in our time as regards certain precepts of the divine and natural laws. But these likewise, more or less wittingly, are emissaries of the great enemy who is ever seeking to sow cockle among the wheat.

We, therefore, whom the Father has appointed over His Church, we who are bound by our most holy office to take care lest the good seed be choked by the weeds, believe it fitting to apply to ourselves the most grave words of the Holy Ghost with which the Apostle Paul exhorted his beloved Timothy: "Be thou vigilant. Fulfill thy ministry. Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine."

And since, in order that the deceits of the enemy may be avoided, it is necessary first of all that they be laid bare, since much is to be gained by denouncing these heresies for the sake of the unwary, even though we prefer not to name these iniquities "as becometh saints," yet for the welfare of souls we cannot remain altogether silent.

To begin at the very source of these evils, their basic principle lies in this, that matrimony is repeatedly declared to be not instituted by the author of nature nor raised by Christ the Lord to the dignity of a true sacrament, but invented by man. Some confidently assert that they have found no evidence for the existence of matrimony in nature or in her laws, but regard it merely as a means of producing life and of gratifying in one way or another a vehement impulse. On the other hand, others recognize that certain beginnings or, as it were, seeds of true wedlock are found in the nature of man, since, unless men were bound together by some form of permanent tie, the dignity of husband and wife or the natural end of propagating and rearing the offspring would not receive satisfactory provision.

At the same time they maintain that in all beyond this germinal idea matrimony, through various concurrent causes, is invented solely by the mind of man, established solely by his will.

How gravely all these err and how shamelessly they have the ways of honesty already evident from what we have set forth here regarding the origin and nature of wedlock, its purposes and the good inherent in it.

The evil of this teaching is plainly seen from the consequences which its advocates deduce from it, namely, that the laws, institution and customs by which wedlock is governed, since they take their origin solely from the will of man, are subject entirely to him, hence can and must be founded, changed and abrogated according to human caprice and the shifting circumstances of human affairs; that the generative power which is grounded in nature itself is more sacred and has wider range than matrimony—hence it may be exercised both outside as well as within the confines of wedlock, even though the purpose of matrimony be set aside, as though to suggest that the license of a base, fornicating woman should enjoy the same rights as the chaste motherhood of a lawfully wedded wife.

Armed with these principles, some men go so far as to concoct new species of unions, suited, as they say, to the present temper of men and the times, which various new forms of matrimony they presume to label.

And now, venerable brethren, we shall explain in detail the evils opposed to each of the benefits of matrimony. First consideration is due to the offspring, which many have the boldness to call the disagreeable burden of matrimony and which they say is to be carefully avoided by married people not through virtuous continence (which Christian law permits in matrimony when both parties consent) but by frustrating the marriage act. Some weary of children and wish to gratify their desires without their consequent burden. Others say that they cannot, on the one hand, remain continent nor, on the other, can they have children because of the difficulties whether on the part of the mother or on the part of family circumstances.

But no reason, however grave, may be put forward by which anything intrinsically against nature may become conformable to nature and morally good. Since, therefore, the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children, those who in exercising it deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious.

Small wonder, therefore, if holy writ bears witness that the Divine Majesty regards with greatest detestation this horrible crime, and at times has punished it with death. As St. Augustine notes, intercourse even with one's legitimate wife is unlawful and wicked where the conception of the offspring is prevented. Onan, the son of Juda, did this, and the Lord killed him for it.

Therefore, openly departing from the uninterrupted Christian tradition, some recently have judged it possible solemnly to declare another doctrine regarding this question. The Catholic Church, to whom God has entrusted the defense of the integrity and purity of morals, standing erect in the midst of the moral ruin which surrounds her, in order that she may preserve the chastity of the nuptial union from being defiled by this foul stain, raises her voice in token of Divine ambassadorship and through our mouth proclaims anew:

Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offense against the law of God and of nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin.

We admonish, therefore, priests who hear confession and others who have the care of souls, in virtue of our supreme authority and in our solicitude for the salvation of souls, not to allow the faithful entrusted to them to err regarding this most grave law of God, much more, that they keep themselves immune from such false opinions, in no way conniving in them. If any confessor or pastor of souls, which may God forbid, lead the faithful entrusted to him into these errors or should at least confirm them by approval or by guilty silence, let him be mindful of the fact that he must render a strict account to God, the Supreme Judge, for the betrayal of his sacred trust, and let him take to himself the words of Christ: "They are blind and leaders of the blind; and if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit."

As regards the evil use of matrimony—to pass over the arguments which are shameful ones—not infrequently others that are false and exaggerated are put forward. Holy Mother Church very well understands and clearly appreciates all that is said regarding the health of the mother and the danger to her life. And who would not grieve to think of these things? Who is not filled with the greatest admiration when he sees a mother risking her life with heroic fortitude, that she may preserve the life of the offspring which she has conceived? God alone, all bountiful and all merciful as He is, can reward her for the fulfillment of the office allotted to her by nature, and will assuredly repay her in a measure full to overflowing.

Holy Church knows well that not infrequently one of the parties is sinned against rather than sinning when for a grave cause he or she reluctantly allows the perversion of the right order. In such a case, there is no sin, provided that, mindful of the law of charity, he or she does not neglect to seek to dissuade and to deter the partner from sin. Nor are those considered as acting against nature who in the married state use their right in the proper manner although on account of natural reasons, either of time or of certain defects, new life cannot be brought forth.

For in matrimony as well as in the use of the matrimonial rights there are also secondary ends, such as mutual aid, the cultivating of mutual love, and the quieting of concupiscence which husband and wife are not forbidden to consider so long as they are subordinated to the primary end and so long as the intrinsic nature of the act is preserved.

We are deeply touched by the sufferings of those parents who, in extreme want, experience great difficulty in rearing their children. However, they should take care lest the calamitous state of their external affairs should be the occasion for a much more calamitous error.

No difficulty can arise that justifies the putting aside of the law of God which forbids all acts intrinsically evil; there is no possible circumstance in which husband and wife cannot, strengthened by the grace of God, fulfill faithfully their duties and preserve in wedlock their chastity unspotted. This truth of Christian faith is expressed by the teaching of the Council of Trent: "Let none be so rash as to assert that which the Fathers of the Council have placed under anathema, namely, that there are precepts of God impossible for the just to observe. God does not ask the impossible, but, by his commands, instructs you to do what you are able, to pray for what you are not able that He may help you."

This same doctrine was again solemnly repeated and confirmed by the Church in the condemnation of the Jansenist heresy which dared to utter this blasphemy against the goodness of God: "Some precepts of God are, when one considers the powers which man possesses, impossible of fulfillment even to the just who wish to keep the law and strive to do so. Grace is lacking whereby these laws could be fulfilled."

But another very grave crime is to be noted, venerable brethren, which regards the taking of the life of the offspring hidden in the mother's womb. Some wish it to be allowed and left to the will of the father or the mother, others say it is unlawful unless there are weighty reasons which they call by the name of medical, social or eugenic "indication."

Because this matter falls under the penal laws of the State by which the destruction of the offspring begotten

but unborn is forbidden, these people demand that the "indication," which in one form or another they defend, be recognized as such by the public law and in no way penalized.

There are those, moreover, who ask that the public authorities provide aid for these death-dealing operations—a thing which, sad to say, every one knows is of very frequent occurrence in some places.

As to the "medical and therapeutic indication" to which, using their own words, we have made reference, venerable brethren, however much we may pity the mother whose health and even life is gravely imperiled in the performance of the duty allotted to her by nature, nevertheless what could ever be a sufficient reason for excusing in any way the direct murder of the innocent? This is precisely what we are dealing with here. Whether inflicted upon the mother or upon the child, it is against the precept of God and the law of nature: "Thou shalt not kill"; the life of each is equally sacred, and no one has the power, not even the public authority, to destroy it.

It is of no use to appeal to the right of taking away life, for here it is a question of the innocent, whereas that right has regard only to the guilty; nor is there here a question of defense by bloodshed against an unjust aggressor (for who would call an innocent child an unjust aggressor?).

Again, there is no question here of what is called the "law of extreme necessity" which could even extend to the direct killing of the innocent. Upright and skillful doctors strive most praiseworthy to guard and preserve the lives of both mother and child. On the contrary, those show themselves most unworthy of the noble profession who encompass the death of one or the other, through a pretense of practicing medicine or through motives of misguided pity.

All of which agrees with the stern words of the Bishop of Hippo in denouncing those wicked parents who seek to remain childless and, failing in this, are not ashamed to put their offspring to death.

Sometimes this lustful cruelty or cruel lust goes so far as to seek to procure a baneful sterility, and if this fails, the foetus conceived in the womb is in one way or another smothered or evacuated, in the desire to destroy the offspring before it has life, or if it already lives in the womb, to kill it before it is born.

If both man and woman are party to such practices they are not spouses at all, and if from the first they have carried on thus, they have come together not for honest wedlock, but for impure gratification; if both are not party to these deeds, I make bold to say that either the one makes herself a mistress of the husband or the other simply the paramour of his wife.

What is asserted in favor of the social and eugenic "indication" may and must be accepted, provided lawful and upright methods are employed within the proper limits; but to wish to put forward reasons based upon them for the killing of the innocent is unthinkable and contrary to the divine precept promulgated in the words of the apostle: "Evil is not to be done that good may come of it."

Those who hold the reins of government should not forget that it is the duty of public authority by appropriate laws and sanctions to defend the lives of the innocent, and this all the more so since those whose lives are endangered and assailed cannot defend themselves. Among whom we must mention in the first place infants hidden in the mother's womb. And if the public magistrates not only do not defend them, but by their laws and ordinances betray them to death at the hands of doctors or of others, let them remember that God is the judge and avenger of innocent blood which cries from earth to heaven.

Finally, that pernicious practice must be condemned which closely touches upon the natural right of man to enter matrimony, but effects also in a real way the welfare of the offspring, for there are some who, oversolicitous for the cause of eugenics, not only give salutary counsel for more certainly procuring the strength and health of the future child—which, indeed, is not contrary to right reason—but put eugenics before aims of a higher order, and by public authority wish to prevent from marrying all those who, even though naturally fit for marriage, they consider, according to the norms and conjectures of their investigations, would, through hereditary transmission, bring forth defective offspring.

And more, they wish to legislate to deprive these of that natural faculty by medical action despite their unwillingness; and this they do not propose as an infliction of grave punishment under the authority of the State for a crime committed, nor to prevent future crimes by guilty persons, but against every right and good they wish the civil authority to arrogate to itself a power over a faculty which they never had and can never legitimately possess.

Those who act in this way are at fault in losing sight of the fact that the family is more sacred than the State, and that men are begotten not for the earth and for time, but for heaven and eternity. Although often these individuals are to be dissuaded from entering into matrimony, certainly it is wrong to brand men with the stigma of crime because they contract marriage, on the ground that, despite the fact that they are in every respect capable of matrimony, they will give birth only to defective children, even though they use all care and diligence.

Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies

of their subjects, therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason.

St. Thomas teaches this when, inquiring whether human judges for the sake of preventing future evils can inflict punishment, he admits that the power indeed exists as regards certain other forms of punishment, but justly and properly denies it as regards the maiming of the body: "No one who is guiltless may be punished by a human tribunal either by flogging to death, or mutilation, or by beating."

Furthermore, Christian doctrine establishes, and the light of human reason makes it most clear, that private individuals have no other power over the members of their bodies than that which pertains to their natural ends; and they are not free to destroy or mutilate their members, or in any other way render themselves unfit for their natural functions, except when no other provision can be made for the good of the whole body.

We may now consider another class of errors concerning conjugal faith, for every sin committed as regards the offspring becomes in some way a sin against conjugal faith, since both these benefits are essentially connected. Moreover, we must mention in detail all the sources of error and vice, which correspond to those virtues which are demanded by conjugal faith, namely, the chaste honor existing between man and wife, the due subjection of wife to husband, and the true love which binds both parties together.

It follows therefore that they are destroying mutual fidelity who think that the ideas and morality of our present time concerning a certain harmful and false friendship with a third party can be countenanced, and who teach that a greater freedom of feeling and action in such external relations should be allowed to man and wife, particularly as many (so they consider) are possessed of an inborn sexual tendency which cannot be satisfied within the narrow limits of monogamous marriage.

That rigid attitude toward sensual affections and actions with a third party they imagine to be a narrowing of mind and heart, something obsolete, or an abject form of jealousy, and as a result they look upon whatever penal laws are passed by the State for the preserving of conjugal faith as void or to be abolished. Such unwarranted and idle opinions are condemned by that noble institution which is found in every chaste husband and wife, and that even by the light of the testimony of nature alone—the testimony that is sanctioned and confirmed by the command of God: "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and the words of Christ: "Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after he hath already committed adultery with her in his heart," the force of this divine precept can never be weakened by a merely human custom, bad example or pretext of human progress, for just as it is the one and the same "Jesus Christ, yesterday and today, and the same forever," so it is the one and the same doctrine of Christ that abides and of which not a jot or tittle shall pass away till all are fulfilled. The same false teachers who try to dim the lustre of conjugal faith and purity do not scruple to do away with the honorable and trusting obedience which the woman owes to the man.

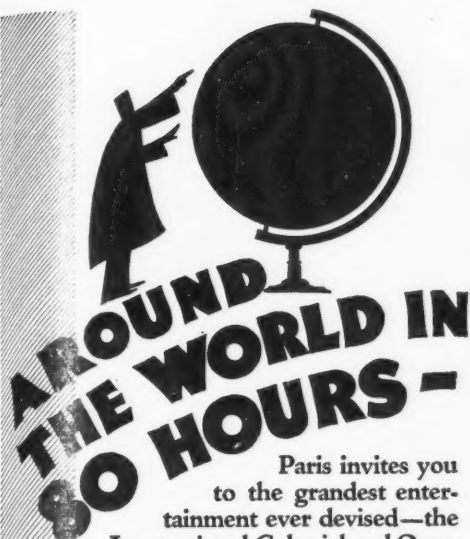
Many of them go further and assert that such a subjection of one party to the other is unworthy of human dignity, that the rights of husband and wife are equal, wherefore, they boldly proclaim, the emancipation of women has been or ought to be effected.

This emancipation in their ideas must be threefold—the ruling of the domestic society, in the administration of family affairs and in the rearing of the children. It must be social, economic, physiological—physiological that is to say, the woman is to be freed at good pleasure from the burdensome duties properly belonging to a wife as companion and mother (we have already said that this is not an emancipation but a crime); social, inasmuch as the wife being freed from the cares of children and family, should, to the neglect of these, be able to follow her own bent and devote herself to business and even public affairs; finally, economic, whereby the woman even without the knowledge and against the will of her husband may be at liberty to conduct and administer her own affairs, giving her attention chiefly to these rather than to children, husband and family.

This, however, is not the true emancipation of woman, nor that rational and exalted liberty which belongs to the noble office of a Christian woman and wife; it is rather the debasing of the womanly character and the dignity of motherhood, and indeed of the whole family, as a result of which the husband suffers the loss of his wife, the children of their mother and the home and the whole family of an ever watchful guardian.

More than this, this false liberty and unnatural equality with the husband is to the detriment of the woman herself, for if the woman descends from her truly royal throne to which she has been raised within the walls of the home by means of the gospel, she will soon be reduced to the old state of slavery, if not in appearance, certainly in reality, and become as amongst the pagans the mere instrument of man.

This equality of rights, which is so much exaggerated and distorted, must indeed be recognized in those rights



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which belong to the dignity of the human being and which are proper to the marriage contract and inseparably bound up with wedlock; in such things undoubtedly both parties enjoy the same rights and are bound by the same obligations; in other things there must be a certain inequality and due accommodation, which is demanded by the good of the family and the right ordering and unity and stability of home life.

As, however, the social and economic conditions of the married woman must in some way be altered on account of the changes in social intercourse, it is part of the office of the public authority to adapt the civil rights of the wife to modern needs and requirements, keeping in view what the natural disposition and temperament of the female sex, good morality, and the welfare of the family demands, and provided always that the essential order of the domestic society remain intact, founded as it is on something higher than human authority and wisdom—namely, on the authority and wisdom of God, and so not changeable by public laws or at the pleasure of private individuals.

These enemies of marriage go further, however, when they substitute for that true and solid love, which is the basis of conjugal happiness, a certain vague compatibility of temperament. This they call sympathy and assert that, since it is the only bond by which husband and wife are linked together, when it ceases the marriage is completely dissolved.

What else is this than to build a house upon sand? A house that in the words of Christ would forthwith be shaken and collapse as soon as it was exposed to the waves of adversity: "And the winds blew and they beat upon that house. And it fell. And great was the fall thereof."

On the other hand, the house built upon a rock, that is to say, on mutual conjugal chastity and strengthened by a deliberate and constant union of spirit, will not only never fall away but will never be shaken by adversity.

We have so far, venerable brethren, shown the excellency of the first two blessings of Christian wedlock which the modern disturbers of society are attacking. And now considering that the third blessing, which is that of the sacrament, far surpasses the other two, we should not be surprised to find that this, because of its outstanding excellence, is much more sharply attacked by the same people.

They put forward in the first place that matrimony belongs entirely to the profane and purely civil sphere. That is it not to be committed to the religious society, the Church of Christ, but to civil society alone. They then add that the marriage contract is to be freed from any indissoluble bond and that separation and divorce are not only to be tolerated but sanctioned by the law; from which it follows finally that, robbed of all its holiness, matrimony should be enumerated amongst the secular and civil institutions.

The first point is contained in their contention that the civil act itself should stand for the marriage contract (civil matrimony). Moreover, they want it to be no cause for reproach that marriages be contracted by Catholics with non-Catholics without any reference to religion or recourse to the ecclesiastical authorities.

The second part, which is but a consequence of the first, is to be found in their excuse for complete divorce and in their praise of the bond itself.

As the salient features of the religious character of all marriage, and particularly of the sacramental marriage of Christians, have been treated at length and supported by weighty arguments in the encyclical letters of Leo X, letters which we have frequently recalled to mind and expressly made our own, we refer you to them, repeating here only a few points.

Even by the light of reason alone, and particularly if the ancient records of history are investigated, if the unwavering popular conscience is interrogated and the manners and institutions of all races examined, it is sufficiently obvious that there is a certain sacredness and religious character attaching even to the purely natural union of man and woman, "not something added by chance but innate, not imposed by men but involved in the nature of things," since it has "God for its author and has been even from the beginning a foreshadowing of the incarnation of the word of God."

This sacredness of marriage, which is intimately connected with religion and all that is holy, arises from the divine origin we have just mentioned, from its purpose which is the begetting and educating of children for God and the binding of man and wife to God through Christian love and mutual support, and, finally, it arises from the very nature of wedlock whose institution is to be sought for in the far-seeing providence of God whereby it is the means of transmitting life, thus making parents the ministers, as it were, of the Divine omnipotence.

To this must be added that new element of dignity which comes from the sacrament, by which the Christian marriage is so ennobled and raised to such a level that it appeared to the apostle as a great sacrament.

This religious character of marriage in its sublime signification of grace and the union between Christ and the Church evidently requires that those about to marry should show a holy reverence toward it and zealously endeavor to make their marriage approach as nearly as possible to the archetype of Christ and the Church.

They, therefore, who rashly and heedlessly contract mixed marriages, from which the maternal love and providence of the Church dissuades her children for very sound reasons, fall conspicuously in this respect, sometimes with danger to their eternal salvation. This attitude of the Church to mixed marriages appears in many of her documents, all of which are summed up in the Code of Canon Law in the canon:

"Everywhere and with the greatest strictness the Church forbids marriages between baptized persons, one of whom is a Catholic and the other a member of a schismatical or heretical set; and, if there is added to this the danger of the falling away of the Catholic party and the perversion of the children, such a marriage is forbidden also by the Divine law."

If the Church occasionally on account of circumstances does not refuse to grant a dispensation from these strict laws (provided that the Divine law remains intact and the dangers above-mentioned are provided against by suitable safeguards), it is unlikely that the Catholic party will not suffer some detriment from such a marriage.

Whence it comes about not unfrequently, as experience shows, that deplorable defections from religion occur among the offspring, or at least a headlong descent into that religious indifference which is closely allied to impurity. Then is this also to be considered: that in these mixed marriages it becomes much more difficult to imitate by a lively conformity of spirit the mystery of which we have spoken, namely, that close union between Christ and His Church.

Assuredly, also, will there be wanting that close union of spirit which, as it is the sign and mark of the Church of Christ, so also should be the sign of Christian wedlock, its glory and adornment. For, where there exists diversity of mind, truth and feeling, the bond of union of mind and heart is wont to be broken, or at least weakened. From this comes the danger lest the love of man and wife grow cold and the peace and happiness of family life, resting as it does on the union of hearts, be destroyed. Many centuries ago, indeed, the old Roman law had proclaimed: "Marriages are the union of male and female, a sharing of life and the communication of divine and human rights."

But especially, as we have pointed out, venerable brethren, the daily increasing facility of divorce is an obstacle to the restoration of marriage to that state of perfection which the Divine Redeemer willed it should possess.

The advocates of the neo-paganism of today have learned nothing from the sad state of affairs, but instead, day by day, more and more vehemently, they continue by legislation to attack the indissolubility of the marriage bond, proclaiming that the lawfulness of divorce must be recognized and that the antiquated laws should give place to a new and more human legislation.

Many and varied are the grounds put forward for divorce, some arising from the wickedness and the guilt of the persons concerned, others arising from the circumstances of the case; the former they describe as subjective, the latter as objective.

In a word, whatever might make married life hard or unpleasant, they strive to prove their contentions regarding these grounds for the divorce legislation they would bring about by various arguments.

Thus in the first place they maintain that it is for the good of either party that the one who is innocent should have the right to separate from the guilty, or that the guilty should be withdrawn from a union which is displeasing to him and against his will.

In the second place, they argue, the good of the child demands this, for either it will be deprived of a proper education or will too easily be affected by the discords and shortcomings of the parents, and drawn from the path of virtue.

And, third, the common good of society requires that these marriages should be completely dissolved, which are now incapable of producing their natural results, and that legal reparations should be allowed when crimes are to be feared as the result of the common habitation and intercourse of the parties.

This last, they say, must be admitted to avoid the crimes being committed purposely with a view to obtaining the desired sentence of divorce for which the judge can legally loose the marriage bond, as also to prevent people from coming before the courts when it is obvious from the state of the case that they are lying and perjuring themselves.

All of which brings the court and the lawful authority into contempt. Hence the civil laws, in their opinion, have to be reformed to meet these new requirements, to suit the changes of the times and the changes in men's opinions, civil institutions and customs. Each of these reasons is considered by them as conclusive, so that all taken together offer a clear proof of the necessity of granting divorce in certain cases.

Others, taking a step further, simply state that marriage, being a private contract, is, like other private contracts, to be left to the consent and good pleasure of both parties, and so can be dissolved for any reason whatsoever.

Opposed to all these reckless opinions, venerable brethren, stands the unalterable law of God, fully con-

firmed by Christ, a law that can never be deprived of its forces by the decrees of men, the ideas of a people or the will of any legislator:

"What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." And if any man, acting contrary to this law, shall have put asunder, his action is null and void, and the consequence remains, as Christ himself has explicitly confirmed.

"Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery."

Moreover, these words refer to every kind of marriage, even that which is natural and legitimate only; for, as has already been observed, that indissolubility by which the loosening of the bond is once and for all removed from the whim of the parties and from every secular power, is a property of every true marriage.

Let that solemn pronouncement of the Council of Trent be recalled to mind in which, under the stigma of anathema, it condemned these errors:

"If any one should say that on account of heresy or the hardships of cohabitation or a deliberate abuse of one party by the other, the marriage tie may be loosened, let him be anathema"; and again:

"If any one should say that the Church errs in having taught or in teaching that according to the teaching of the Gospel and the Apostles, the bond of marriage cannot be loosed because of the sin of adultery of either party; or that neither party, even though he be innocent, having given no cause for the sin of adultery, can contract another marriage during the lifetime of the other; and that he commits adultery who marries another after putting away his adulterous wife, and likewise that she commits adultery who puts away her husband and marries another; let him be anathema."

If, therefore, the Church has not erred and does not err in teaching this, and consequently it is certain that the bond of marriage cannot be loosed even on account of the sin of adultery, it is evident that all the other weaker excuses that can be and are usually brought forward, are of no value whatsoever.

And the objections brought against the firmness of the marriage bond are easily answered. For in certain circumstances imperfect separation of the parties is allowed, the bond not being severed. This separation, which the Church herself permits and expressly mentions in her Canon Law in those canons which deal with the separation of the parties as to marital relationship and cohabitation, removes all the alleged inconveniences and dangers.

It will be for the sacred law and to some extent also the civil law, in so far as civil matters are affected, to lay down the grounds, the conditions, the method and precautions to be taken in a case of this kind in order to safeguard the education of the children and the well-being of the family, and to remove all those evils which threaten the married persons, the children and the State.

Now all those arguments that are brought forward to prove the indissolubility of the marriage tie, arguments which have already been touched upon, can equally be applied to excluding not only the necessity of divorce, but even the power to grant it; while for all the advantages that can be put forward for the former, there can be adduced as many disadvantages and evils which are a formidable menace to the whole of human society.

To revert again to the expressions of our predecessor, it is hardly necessary to point out what an amount of good is involved in the absolute indissolubility of wedlock and what a train of evils follows upon divorce. Whenever the marriage bond remains intact, then we find marriages contracted with a sense of safety and security, while when separations are considered and the dangers of divorce are present, the marriage contract itself becomes insecure, or at least gives ground for anxiety and surprises. On the one hand we see a wonderful strengthening of good-will and cooperation in the daily life of husband and wife, while on the other both of these are miserably weakened by the presence of a facility for divorce.

Here we have at a very opportune moment a source of help by which both parties are enabled to preserve their purity and loyalty; there we find harmful inducements to unfaithfulness. On this side we find the birth of children and their tuition and upbringing effectively promoted, many avenues of discord closed amongst families and relations, and the beginnings of rivalry and jealousy easily suppressed; on that, very great obstacles to the birth and rearing of children and their education, many occasions of quarrels and seeds of jealousy sown everywhere.

Finally, but especially, the dignity and position of women in civil and domestic society is reinstated by the former; while by the latter it is shamefully lowered and the danger is incurred of their being considered outcasts, slaves of the lust of men.

To conclude with the important words of Leo XIII: "Since the destruction of family life and the loss of national wealth and resources is brought about more by the corruption of morals than by anything else, it is easily seen that divorce, which is born of the perverted

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morals of a people, and leads, as experience shows, to vicious habits in public and private life, is particularly opposed to the well-being of the family and of the State.

"The serious nature of these evils will be the more clearly recognized when we remember that once divorce has been allowed there will be no sufficient means of keeping it in check within any definite bounds. Great is the force of example, greater still that of lust; and with such incitement it cannot but happen that divorce and its consequent setting loose of the passions should spread daily and wreck the souls of many like a contagious disease or a river bursting its banks and flooding the land."

Thus as we read in the same letter: "Unless things change, the human family and State have every reason to fear lest they should suffer absolute ruin."

All this was written fifty years ago, yet it is confirmed by the daily increasing corruption of morals and the unheard-of degradation of the family in those lands where communism reigns unchecked.

Thus far, venerable brethren, we have admired, with due reverence, what the all-wise Creator and Redeemer of the human race has ordained with regard to human marriage. At the same time we have expressed our grief that such a pious ordinance of the divine goodness should today, and on every side, be frustrated and trampled upon by the passions, errors and vices of men.

It is then fitting that with all paternal solicitude we should turn our mind to seek out suitable remedies whereby those most detestable abuses which we have mentioned may be removed and everywhere marriage may again be revealed. To this end, it behooves us above all else to call to mind that firmly established principle, esteemed alike in sound philosophy and sacred theology, namely, that whatever things have deviated from their right order cannot be brought back to that original state which is in harmony with their nature except by a returning to the divine plan which (as the angelic doctor teaches) is the exemplar of all right order.

Wherefore our predecessor of happy memory, Leo XIII, in these words urged against the naturalists:

"It is a divinely appointed law that whatsoever things are constituted by God, the author of nature, these we find the more useful and salutary the more they remain in their natural state, unimpaired and unchanged; inasmuch as God, the Creator of all things, intimately knows what is suited to the constitution and the preservation of each, and by His will and mind has so ordained all things that each may duly achieve its purpose.

"But if the audacity and impiety of men would change and disturb this order of things, so providentially disposed, then indeed things so wonderfully ordained will begin to be injurious or will cease to be beneficial either because in the change they have lost their power to benefit, or because God Himself is thus pleased to draw down chastisement on the pride and presumption of men."

In order, therefore, to restore the due order in this matter of marriage, it is necessary that all should bear in mind what is the divine plan and strive to conform to it. And wherefore, since the chief obstacle to this study is the power of unbridled lust, which indeed is the most potent cause of sinning against the sacred laws of matrimony, and since man cannot hold in check his passions unless he first subjects himself to God, this must be his primary endeavor, in accordance with the plan divinely ordained.

For it is a sacred ordinance that whoever shall have first subjected himself to God will, by the aid of divine grace, rejoice to subject to himself his own passions and concupiscence, while he who is a rebel against God will in his sorrow experience within himself the violent rebellion of his worst passions.

And how wisely this has been decreed, St. Augustine thus shows: "This indeed is fitting, that the lower be subject to the higher, so that he would have subject to himself whatever is below him, should himself submit to whatever is above him. Acknowledge order, seek peace. Be thou subject to God, and thy flesh subject to thee. What more fitting! What more fair! Thou art subject to the higher and the lower is subject to thee. Do thou serve Him who made thee, so that that which was made for thee may serve thee. For we do not commend this order, namely, 'the flesh to thee and thou to God,' but 'thou to God, and the flesh to thee'."

"If, however, thou despisest the subjection of thyself to God thou shalt never bring about the subjection of the flesh to thyself. If thou dost not obey the Lord thou shalt be tormented by thy servant."

This right ordering on the part of God's wisdom is mentioned by the holy doctor of the gentiles, inspired by the Holy Ghost, for in speaking of those ancient philosophers who refused to adore and reverence Him whom they knew to be the Creator of the universe, he says:

"Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, into uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies among themselves," and again: "For this same God delivered them up to shameful affections."

And St. James says: "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." without which grace, as the same doctor of the gentiles reminds us, man cannot subdue the rebellion of his flesh.

Consequently, as the onslaughts of these uncontrolled passions cannot in any way be lessened, unless the spirit

first shows a humble compliance of duty and reverence toward its maker, it is above all and before all needful that those who are joined in the bond of sacred wedlock should be wholly imbued with a profound and genuine sense of duty toward God, which will shape their whole lives and fill their minds and wills with a very deep reverence for the majesty of God.

Quite fittingly, therefore, and quite in accordance with the defined form of Christian sentiment do those pastors of souls act who, to prevent married people from falling in the observance of God's law, urge them to perform their duty and exercise their religion so that they may give themselves to God, continually ask for His divine assistance, frequent the sacraments, and always nourish and preserve a loyal and thoroughly sincere devotion to God.

They are greatly deceived who having underestimated or neglected these means which rise above nature, think that they can induce men by the use and discovery of the natural sciences (such as those of biology, the science of heredity, and the like) to curb their carnal desires.

We do not say this in order to belittle those natural means which are not dishonest, for God is the author of nature as well as of grace, and He has disposed the good things of both orders for the beneficial use of men. The faithful, therefore, can and ought to be assisted also by natural means. But they are mistaken who think that these means are able to establish chastity in the nuptial union, or that they are more effective than supernatural grace.

This conformity of wedlock and moral conduct with the divine laws respective of marriage, without which its effective restoration cannot be brought about, supposes, however, that all can discern readily, with real certainty, and without any accompanying error, what those laws are. But every one can see to how many fallacies an avenue would be opened up and how many errors would become mixed with the truth, if it were left solely to the light of reason of each to find it out, or if it were to be discovered by the private interpretation of the truth which is revealed.

And if this is applicable to many other truths of the moral order, we must all the more pay attention to those things which appertain to marriage where the inordinate desire for pleasure can attack frail human nature and easily deceive it and lead it astray.

This is all the more true of the observance of the divine law, which demands sometimes hard and repeated sacrifices, for which, as experience points out, a weak man can find so many excuses for avoiding the fulfillment of the divine law.

On this account, in order that no falsification or corruption of the divine law but a true genuine knowledge of it may enlighten the minds of men and guide their conduct, it is necessary that a filial and humble obedience toward the Church should be combined with devotedness to God and the desire of submitting to Him. For Christ Himself made the Church the teacher of truth in those things also which concern the ruling and regulation of moral conduct, even though some things are not of themselves impervious to human reason.

For just as God in the case of the natural truths of religion and morals added revelation to the light of reason so that these things which are right and true in the present state also of the human race may be known readily with real certainty without any admixture of error, so for the same purpose he has constituted the Church the guardian and the teacher of the whole of the truth concerning religion and moral conduct.

To her, therefore, should the faithful show obedience and subject their minds and hearts so as to be kept unharmed and free from error and moral corruption, and so that they shall not deprive themselves of that assistance given by God with such liberal bounty, they ought to show this due obedience not only when the Church defines something with solemn judgment, but also, in proper proportion, when by the constitutions and decrees of the Holy See, opinions are proscribed and condemned as dangerous or distorted.

Wherefore, let the faithful also be on their guard against the overrated independence of private judgment and that false autonomy of human reason. For it is quite foreign to every one bearing the name of a Christian to trust his own mental powers with such pride as to agree only with those things which he can examine from their inner nature and to imagine that the Church, sent by God to teach and guide all nations, is not conversant with present affairs and circumstances, or even that they must obey only in those matters which she has decreed by means of solemn definition, as though her other decisions might be presumed to be false or to put forward insufficient motive for truth and honesty.

Quite to the contrary, a characteristic of all true followers of Christ, lettered or unlettered, is to suffer themselves to be guided and led in all things that touch upon faith or morals of the holy Church of God, through its supreme pastor, the Roman Pontiff, who is himself guided by Jesus Christ our Lord.

Consequently, since everything must be referred to the law and mind of God, in order to bring about the universal and permanent restoration of marriage, it is indeed of the utmost importance that the faithful should

be well instructed concerning matrimony; and that, both by word of mouth and by the written word, not cursorily but often and fully, by means of plain and weighty arguments, so that these truths will strike the intellect and will be deeply engraved on their hearts. Let them realize and diligently reflect upon the great wisdom, kindness and bounty God has shown toward the human race, not only in the institution of marriage but also, and quite as much, by upholding it with sacred laws; but still more in wonderfully raising it to the dignity of a sacrament by which such an abundant fountain of graces has been opened to those joined in Christian wedlock that these may be able to serve the noble purposes of wedlock for their own welfare and for that of their children, of the community and also for that of human relationship.

Certainly, if the latter-day subverters of marriage are entirely devoted to misleading the minds of men and corrupting their hearts, to making a mockery of matrimonial purity and extolling the filthiest of vices by means of books and pamphlets and other innumerable methods, much more ought you, venerable brethren, whom "the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops, to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood," to give yourselves wholly to that, through yourselves and through the priests subject to you, and moreover through the laity united by Catholic action, so much desired and recommended by us, into a power of hierarchical apostolate, you may by every fitting means oppose error by truth, vice by the excellent dignity of chastity, the slavery of concupiscence by the liberty of the sons of God, that disastrous ease in obtaining divorce by an enduring love in the bond of marriage and by the inviolate pledge of fidelity given even to death.

Thus it will come to pass that the faithful will wholeheartedly thank God that they are bound together by His command and led by gentle compulsion to fly as far as possible from every kind of idolatry of the flesh and from the base slavery of the passions; that they will as a great measure turn and be turned away from these abominable opinions which to the dishonor of man's dignity are now spread about in speech and in writing and collected under the title of "perfect marriage," and which indeed would make that perfect marriage nothing better than "depraved marriage," *prouti etiam jure merito dictum est*.

Such wholesome instruction and religious training in regard to Christian marriage will be quite different from that exaggerated physiological education by means of which in these times of ours some reformers of married life make pretense of helping those joined in wedlock, making much of these physiological matters, by which is learned rather the art of sinning in a subtle way than the virtue of living chastely.

So venerable brethren, we make entirely our own the words which our predecessor of happy memory, Leo XIII, in his encyclical letter on Christian marriage addressed to the Bishops of the whole world:

"Make care not to spare your efforts and authority in obtaining that among the people committed to your guidance that doctrine will be preserved whole and unadulterated which Christ the Lord and the apostle, the interpreters of the divine will, have handed down and which the Catholic Church herself has religiously preserved and commanded to be observed by the faithful of every age."

Even the very best instruction given by the Church, however, will not alone suffice to bring about once more uniformity of marriage to the law of God; something more is needed in addition to the education of the mind, namely, a steadfast determination of the will on the part of husband and wife to observe sacred laws of God and of nature in regard to marriage.

In fine, in spite of what others may wish to assert and spread abroad by word of mouth or in writing, let husband and wife resolve to stand fast to the commandments of God in all things that matrimony demands; always to render to each the assistance of mutual love, to preserve the honor of chastity, not to lay profane hands on the stable nature of the bond, to use the rights given them by marriage in a way that will be always Christian and sacred, more especially in the first years of wedlock, so that should there be need of contingency afterward custom will have made easier for each to preserve it.

In order that they may make this firm resolution, keep and put it into practice, an oft-repeated consideration of their state of life and a diligent reflection on the sacrament they have received will be a great assistance to them. Let them constantly keep in mind that they have been sanctified and strengthened for the duties and the dignity of their state by a special sacrament, the efficacious power of which, although it does not impress character, is undying.

To this purpose the words of Holy Cardinal Robert Bellarmine may be pondered over, words full of real comfort, who with other well-known theologians with devout conviction thus expresses himself:

"The sacrament of matrimony can be regarded in two ways: First, in the making, and then in its permanent state. Because it is a sacrament like to that of the Eucharist, which not only when it is being conferred, but also while it remains, is a sacrament, for as long as

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the married parties are alive, so long is their union a sacrament of Christ and the Church."

Yet in order that the grace of this sacrament may produce its full fruit, there is need, as we have already pointed out, of the cooperation of the married parties; this in their striving to fulfill their duties to the best of their ability and with unwearied effort; for just as in the natural order men must apply the powers given them by God with their own toil and diligence in order that these may exercise their full vigor, failing which no profit is gained, so also men must use the powers given them by grace which is laid in the soul by the sacrament they have received with their own unceasing efforts.

Let not, then, those who are joined in matrimony neglect the grace of their own sacrament which is in them. By applying themselves to the careful observance, however laborious, of their duties they will find the power of that grace becoming more effectual as time goes on, and if ever they should feel themselves to be overburdened by the hardships of their condition of life, let them not lose courage, but rather let them regard in some measure as addressed to them that which St. Paul the Apostle wrote to his beloved disciple Timothy regarding the sacrament of holy orders when this last was dejected through hardship and insults:

"I admonish thee that thou stir up the grace which is in thee by the impression of my hands—for God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of sobriety."

All these things, however, venerable brethren, depend in large measure on the due preparation, remote and proximate, of the parties for marriage, for it cannot be denied that the basis of a happy wedlock and the ruin of an unhappy one is prepared and set in the souls of boys and girls during the period of childhood and adolescence.

There is danger that those who before marriage sought in all things what is theirs, who indulged even their impure desires, will be in the married state what they were before; that they will reap that which they have sown. Indeed, within the home there will be sadness, lamentation, mutual contempt, strife, estrangements, weariness of common life, and, worst of all, such parties will find themselves left alone with their own unconquered passions.

Let, then, those who are about to enter on married life approach that state well disposed and well prepared, so that they will be able as near as they can to help each other in sustaining the vicissitudes of life, and yet more in attending to their eternal salvation and in forming the inner man unto the fullness of the age of Christ.

It will also help them if they behave toward their cherished offspring as God wills: that is, that the father be truly a father, and the mother truly a mother; through their devout love and unwearied care, the home, though it be in want and in the midst of this valley of tears, may become for the children a reproduction in a way of that paradise of delight in which the Creator placed the first men of the human race.

Thus will they be able to bring up their children as perfect men and perfect Christians. They will instill into them a sound understanding of the Catholic Church and will give them such a disposition and love toward their fatherland as duty and gratitude demand.

Consequently, both those who are now thinking of some time entering upon this sacred married state, as well as those who have the charge to preach that which is good, obviate that which is bad, should recall those points about which we have already spoken in our encyclical letter concerning education:

"The inclinations of the will, if they are bad, must be repressed from childhood, but such as are good must be fostered, and the mind, particularly of children, should be imbued with doctrines which begin with God, while the heart should be strengthened with the aid of divine grace, in the absence of which no one can curb their evil desires, nor can their discipline and formation be brought to complete perfection by the Church, which Christ has so provided with heavenly doctrines and divine sacraments as to make her an effectual teacher of men."

To the proximate preparation of a good married life belongs specially the care in choosing a partner. On that depends a great deal whether the forthcoming marriage will be happy or not, since one may be to the other either a great help in leading a Christian life, or, on the other hand, a great danger and hindrance.

And so that they will not deplore for the rest of their lives the sorrows arising from an indiscreet marriage, those about to enter into wedlock should carefully deliberate in choosing the person with whom henceforth they must live continually.

They should in so deliberating keep before their minds the thought first of God and of the true religion of Christ, then of themselves, of their partner, of the children who are to come, as also of civil society, for which wedlock is as a fountain-head.

Let them diligently pray for divine help so that they will make their choice in accordance with Christian prudence, not indeed led by the blind, unrestrained impulse of lust, nor by any desire of riches or other base influence, but by a true and noble love and by a sincere affection toward the future partner, and then let them strive in their married life toward those ends for which the state was constituted by God.

Lastly, let them not omit to ask the prudent advice of their parents with regard to the partner and let them regard this advice in no light manner, in order that by their mature knowledge and experience of human affairs they may guard against a baneful mistake, and on the threshold of matrimony may receive more abundantly the divine blessing, for the commandment "Honor thy father and thy mother" is the first commandment, with a promise, "that it may be well with thee and thou mayest be long lived upon the earth."

Since it is no rare thing to find that the perfect observance of God's commands and conjugal integrity encounter difficulties because the married parties are oppressed by straitened circumstances, their necessities must be relieved as far as possible.

So in the first place an effort must be made to obtain that which our predecessor, Leo X, of happy memory, has already required, namely, that in the State such economic and social methods should be set up as will enable every head of a family to earn as much as according to his station in life is necessary for himself, his wife and for the rearing of his children, for "the laborer is worthy of his hire."

To deny this or to make light of what is equitable is a grave injustice and is placed among the greatest sins by holy writ; nor is it lawful to fix such a scanty wage as will be insufficient for the upkeep of the family in the circumstances in which it is placed.

Care, however, must be taken that the parties themselves for a considerable time before entering upon married life should strive to dispose of, or at least to diminish, the material obstacles in their way. The manner in which this may be done effectively and honestly must be pointed out by those of experience. Provision must be made also, in the case of those who are not self-supporting, for joint aid by private or public guilds.

When these means which we have pointed out be not fulfilled, the needs particularly of a larger or poorer family, Christian charity toward our neighbor absolutely demands that those things which are lacking to the needy should be provided; hence it is incumbent on the rich to help the poor, that having an abundance of this world's goods they do not expend them fruitlessly or completely squander them, but employ them for the support and well-being of those who lack the necessities of life.

They who give of their substance to Christ in the person of His poor will receive from the Lord a most bountiful reward when He shall come to judge the world; they who act to the contrary will pay the penalty. Not in vain does the apostle warn us:

"He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how doth the charity of God abide in him?"

If, however, for this, private resources do not suffice, it is the duty of the public authority to supply for the insufficient forces of individual effort, particularly in a matter which is of such importance to the common well-being as it does the maintenance of the family and married people, if families, particularly those in which there are many children, have not suitable dwellings; if the husband cannot find employment and means of livelihood; if the necessities of life cannot be purchased except at exorbitant prices; if even the mother of the family, to the great harm of her home, is compelled to go forth and seek a living by her own labor; if she, too, in the ordinary or even extraordinary labors of childbirth is deprived of proper food, medicine and the assistance of a skilled physician.

It is patent to all to what an extent married people may lose heart, and how home life and the observance of God's commands are rendered difficult for them; indeed, how great a peril can arise to public security and to the welfare and very life of civil society itself when such men are reduced to that condition of desperation that, having nothing which they fear to lose, they are emboldened to hope for chance advantage from the upheaval of the State and of established order.

Wherefore, those who have the care of the State and of the common good cannot neglect the needs of married people and their families, without bringing great harm upon the State and on the common welfare of the people. Hence, in making the laws and in disposing of public funds they must do their utmost to relieve the penury of the needy, considering such as one of the most important of their administrative duties.

We are sorry to note that not infrequently nowadays it happens that through a certain inversion of the true order of things, ready and bountiful assistance is provided for the unmarried mother and illegitimate offspring (who, indeed, must be helped that a greater evil may be avoided), which is denied to legitimate mothers or given sparingly or almost grudgingly.

But not only in those things which regard temporal goods, venerable brethren, is it the concern of the public authority that proper provision be made for matrimony and the family, but also in other things which are for the good of souls, namely, just laws must be made for the protection of chastity, for reciprocal conjugal love, for similar purposes, and they must be faithfully enforced, because, as history testifies, the prosperity of the State and the temporal happiness of its citizens are

not remain safe and sound where the foundation on which they are established, which is the moral order, is weakened and where the very fountain-head from which the State draws its life, namely, wedlock and the family, is obstructed by the vices of its citizens.

For the preservation of the moral order neither the laws and sanctions of the temporal power are sufficient, nor the beauty of virtue and the exposition of its necessity; a religious authority must enter in to illumine with truth, to direct the will, and to strengthen human frailty by the assistance of divine grace, and such an authority is alone the Church instituted by Christ the Lord.

Hence we earnestly exhort in the Lord all those who hold the reins of power that they establish and maintain firmly harmony and friendship with this Church of Christ in order that through the united activity and energy of both powers the tremendous evils may be checked which menace civil society as well as the Church, fruits of those wanton liberties which assail both marriage and the family.

The civil law can assist the Church much in the execution of its important office if, in laying down their ordinances, they take account of what is prescribed by divine and ecclesiastical law, and if penalties are fixed for offenders, for as it is, there are those who think that whatever is permitted by the laws of the State, or at least is not punished by them, is allowed in the moral order, and, indeed, because they neither fear God nor see any reason to fear the laws of man, act even against their conscience; hence often they bring ruin upon themselves and upon many others.

There will be no peril to or diminution of the rights and integrity of the State from its association with the Church; such suspicion and fear is empty and groundless, as Leo XIII already has so clearly set forth.

"It is generally agreed," he says, "that the Founder of the Church, Jesus Christ, wished the spiritual power to be distinct from the civil, and each to be free and unhampered in doing its own work, not forgetting, however, that it is expedient to both, and in the interest of everybody, that there be a harmonious relationship.

"If the civil power combines in a friendly manner with the spiritual power of the Church, it necessarily follows that both parties will greatly benefit. The dignity of the one will be enhanced, and with religion as its guide, there will never be a rule that is not just; for the other there will be at hand a safeguard and defense which will operate to the public good of the faithful."

So, to bring forward a recent and clear example of what is meant, it has happened quite in consonance with right order and entirely according to the law of Christ, that in the solemn convention happily entered into between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy, even in matrimonial affairs a peaceful settlement and friendly cooperation has been obtained, such as benefited the glorious history of the Italian people and its ancient and sacred traditions.

These decrees, indeed, are to be found in the Lateran pact:

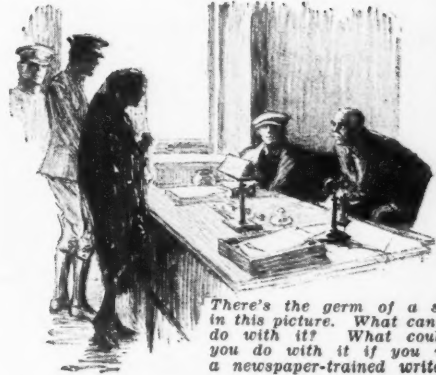
"The Italian State, desirous of restoring to the institution of matrimony, which is the basis of the family, that dignity conformable to the traditions of its people, assigns as civil effects of the sacrament of matrimony all that is attributed to it in canon law."

To this fundamental norm are added further clauses in the common pact.

"The matter might well be an example and a demonstration to all, even in this our own day (in which, sad to say, the absolute separation of the civil power from the Church, and indeed from every religion, is so often taught), that one supreme authority can be united and associated with the other without detriment to the rights and supreme power of the other, thus protecting Christian parents from pernicious evils and menacing ruin.

All these things which, venerable brethren, prompted by our past solicitude we discuss with you, we wish according to the norm of Christian prudence to be promulgated widely among all our beloved children committed to your care as members of the great family of Christ, that all may be thoroughly acquainted with the sound teaching concerning marriage, so that they may be the ever on their guard against the dangers advocated by the proponents of error, and most of all, that denying ungodliness and worldly desires, they may live soberly and justly and godly in this world, looking for the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

May the Father, "of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is the name," who strengthens the weak and gives courage in the pusillanimous and faint-hearted, and Christ our Lord and Redeemer, "the institutor and perfecter of the holy sacrament," who desired marriage to be and made it the mystical image of His own ineffable union with the Church, and the Holy Ghost, charity, the light of hearts and the strength of the mind, grant that what we by this letter have expounded concerning the holy sacrament of matrimony, the wonderful law and will of God respecting it, the errors and impending dangers, and the remedies with which they can be counteracted. All will perceive, will admit with a ready will, and by the grace of God will put into practice, so that



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fruitfulness dedicated to God will flourish again vigorously in Christian wedlock.

That God, the author of all graces, from whom comes every willing and accomplishing, may bring this about, and deign to give it bountifully according to the greatness of His liberality and omnipotence, we most humbly pour forth our earnest prayer at the throne of His grace, and as a token of the abundant blessing of the same omnipotent God, we most lovingly grant to you, venerable brethren, and to the clergy and people committed to your zealous vigilance, the apostolic benediction. Given at Rome, in St. Peter's, this 31st day of December, of the year 1930, the ninth of our pontificate.

(Signed)

PIUS PP. XI.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

The American Leviathan

Continued from Page XV

creed of isolation which once seemed convincing, but unless wisely interpreted, may be employed to defeat its own purpose, namely, the maintenance of national security.

Thus times change and the only question remaining is whether America will change with them.

Brief Book Reviews

LEIF ERIKSSON: DISCOVERER OF AMERICA. A. D. 1003. By Edward F. Gray. New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. \$7.50.

If Mr. Gray's conclusions are recognized, as they should be, children will be taught in school hereafter that it was Leif Eriksson and not Columbus who discovered America. By the most scholarly and exhaustive research Mr. Gray proves, to one reader's satisfaction at least, that the Vinland of the Norse sagas is none other than Cape Cod, and that Leif Eriksson touched the mainland and spent the Winter of 1003 on No Man's Land, a tiny island off Martha's Vineyard. Leif's expedition originated in Greenland, which his father, Erik the Red, had colonized in 985. By his fresh approach to this rather remote chapter of history, Mr. Gray revitalizes the whole period. He has carefully scrutinized and compared the Greenland and Iceland versions of the sagas, has re-evaluated the findings of the scholars who traversed the field before him, and finally has "soaked himself in the local topography," as he says, by exploring every stick and stone of Cape Cod, with extremely interesting results. He has brought to his quest the resources of a Sherlock Holmes, and the reader can only stand by in the rôle of a marveling and admiring Watson.

LEOPOLD FIRST: THE FOUNDER OF MODERN BELGIUM. By Comte Louis de Lichtervelde. New York: The Century Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 336. \$4.

The House of Saxe-Coburg, rulers of a petty German principality, provided nineteenth century Europe with a steady succession of candi-

dates for vacant thrones; not the least of these was Léopold, who became King of the Belgians. When revolution swept Europe in 1830, Léopold was living quietly in England, the pensioned widower of the Princess Charlotte. Diplomatic intrigue and jockeying brought an offer to him of the Crown of the new-born Belgian State. Whether the new State would survive or not was highly uncertain, but Léopold took the chance, leaving the security of Claremont for Brussels, where a generation of laboring in the vineyard was to result in a modern, consolidated State. For too long the world has thought of this King of the Belgians as only the confidant of Queen Victoria. But he was more than that. "King Léopold was and wished above everything to be a constitutional prince. He sought to have the country accept the policy which he believed the wisest and the best, but he did not try to impose it upon her." Thus he set the country's institutions in motion; he created a tradition, and most of all he established a dynasty. All have withstood the storm and stress of a turbulent century.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

ECONOMICS

BERMAN, EDWARD. *Labor and the Sherman Act.* New York: Harper, 1930. \$3.

The status of labor unions under Federal anti-trust legislation, and in particular under the Sherman act.

TWELVE SOUTHERNERS. *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition.* New York: Harper, 1930. \$3.

A protest against industrialism as it is invading the South and a defense of the less intense life so characteristic of their section.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD. *State and Local Taxation of Property.* New York: The Board, 1930. \$2.50.

An analysis of the present status and operation of the tax on general property, with an attempt to ascertain how such taxes may be assessed and administered so as to be least burdensome.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

MYERS, DENYS PETER. *Handbook of the League of Nations since 1920.* Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1930. \$2.

A descriptive account of the League organization and of the results achieved in international cooperation during its first ten years.

KELCHNER, WARREN H. *Latin-American Relations With the League of Nations.* Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1930. \$2.50.

A factual summary of the part played by the Latin-American States in the development of the League and of the effect which the League has had on their political life.

Interpretations of American Foreign Policy. Lectures on the Harris Foundation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. \$3. Following a general discussion by George H.

Blakeslee, are lectures by George Young on relations with Europe, by V. A. Belaunde on Latin America and by Yusuke Tsurumi on the Far East.

BIOGRAPHY

SANDS, WILLIAM FRANKLIN. *Undiplomatic Memories: The Far East, 1896-1904*. New York: Whittelsey House, 1930. \$3.

An entertaining account of life in Korea, where the author was secretary of legation and adviser to the Emperor during the years just preceding the Russo-Japanese War.

VAUCLAIN, SAMUEL M. *Steaming Up: The Autobiography of Samuel M. Vaucain, written in Collaboration with Earl Chapin May*. New York: Brewer & Warren, 1930. \$5.

The president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works tells the story of his rise from the railroad shops to his present position.

SOCIOLOGY

ADDAMS, JANE. *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, September, 1909 to September, 1929; with a Record of Growing World Consciousness*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$4.

Not so much a history of Hull House as an account of the progressive movements of the last twenty years with which Miss Addams has been associated.

HARDING, T. SWANN. *Fads, Frauds and Physicians*. New York: MacVeagh, 1930. \$3.50.

A plea for the control of the medical profession by the State, as a remedy for evils in present practice which are increasingly recognized by the profession as well as by the public.

LURIE, REUBEN L. *The Challenge of the Forum: The Story of Ford Hall and the Open Forum Movement: A Demonstration in Adult Education*. Boston: Badger, 1930. \$2.50.

For twenty years Ford Hall has furnished a platform on which radical and conservative have met for the discussion of important questions of the day, with complete freedom of speech for both.

New Survey of London Life and Labour. Vol. 1. London: P. S. King, 1930. 17s. 6d.

The first volume of a survey of industrial and social conditions in London, which is following the method of Charles Booth's monumental survey of forty years ago.

TAYLOR, GRAHAM. *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. \$4.

Thirty-five years of social work at the Chicago Commons, by the founder of the Settlement.

MISCELLANEOUS

BARTON, R. F. *The Half Way Sun*. New York: Brewer & Warren, 1930. \$5.

Eight years of life among the head hunters of Northern Luzon are compressed into a delightful book of permanent value.

GOLDBERG, ISAAC. *Tin Pan Alley: A Chronicle of the American Popular Music Racket*. New York: John Day, 1930. \$3.50.

A jazz history of jazz music, in content much more sober than it sounds.

WILLIAMSON, JEFFERSON. *The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History*. New York: Knopf, 1930. \$3.50.

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TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

DR. J. BARTLET BREBNER has joined the Board of Current History Associates, and beginning with this issue will contribute the monthly chapter on events in the British Empire. He is now an Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. An M. A. of Oxford, England, his chief professional interests are the history of the British Empire and the relations of Canada and the United States, on which he has contributed numerous articles to books and leading periodicals. Dr. Brebner is also an editorial consultant and contributor to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, as well as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

"THE NEW CATHOLIC IMPERIALISM"

To the Editor of Current History:

The article, "The New Catholic Imperialism," by B. de Ritis, in November CURRENT HISTORY shows an evident lack of true scientific approach in such expressions as "a new step toward making the Church a national rather than a foreign institution." The author considers the aims and conduct of the Pope only in the light of one business man's appraisal of his opponent's moves.

In the very same issue of CURRENT HISTORY we read the following statement: "It is an indisputable fact that the Christian missionary work in China is on the decline. The fundamental cause of this situation is the inability of mission boards and workers to adapt themselves to the changing conditions in that country." (p. XXVI). Mr. de Ritis apparently could not consider the possibility of the Church's having sensed this "fundamental cause" and having adopted such a solution as appointing native Bishops and training native clergy for more successful missionary work.

From the earliest ages of the Church, native hierarchy and native clergy have been a most important factor in missionary work. The Normans, the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks were christianized by their respective apostles. The presence of monasteries in these various lands at this time refutes all such twaddle as "a new step toward making the Church a national rather than a foreign institution."

The author also discusses the significance of the Feast of the Reign of Christ. He boldly states that the feast is celebrated on Oct. 31. I do not know where he secured this fact, but I fear that all his information and data may be tainted with the same confusing carelessness. Most, in fact, all Catholics celebrated this feast in 1930 on October 26, the last Sunday of October.

Another "new step" toward Catholic Imperialism, according to this author, is the double allegiance of each Catholic—his allegiance to the temporal power and his allegiance to divine law and order. If this is a "new step" or a new Catholic missionary policy, then our commentators must needs revise their interpretations of our Divine Founder's words: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's." There seems to be a well established idea that "Pro Deo et pro patria" implies this if it means anything at all.

The following quotation seems to be impregnated with popularizing deductions: "It [the Church] is endeavoring to Romanize the foreign clergy by training it in the ecclesiastical colleges and national seminaries which are erected in Rome under the direct and immediate supervision of the Pope." At present the American College (du Nord) and the American College (du Sud) are at Rome. The Chinese College is, as I understand, not yet completed. In the case of the American College (du Nord), the first suggestion for such an institution came from Archbishop Hughes of New York and Archbishop Kendrick of Baltimore, while the Rev. Ignatius Victor Eyzaguirre, on the other hand, proposed to Pius IX a

college for students of the Latin American countries. The suggestions for the former were made in 1851 while those for the latter were made in 1857. The American College (du Nord), for which the funds were collected in America, is controlled by a board composed of the Archbishops of Baltimore, Boston, New York and Philadelphia. There is at least the same approach to truth in saying that these prelates supervise directly and immediately as there is in stating that the Pope has direct and immediate supervision of these institutions. Both statements are highly conjectural and physically impossible.

It might likewise be enlightening to Mr. de Ritis to know that in 1884 confiscation of the former institution to the Italian Government was forestalled by Mr. Astor at the instance of Secretary of State Freylinghuyzen on the ground that "although technically the American College [of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States] is held by the Propaganda, it is virtually American property, and its reduction would be attended with the sacrifice of interests almost exclusively American."

Brother THEOPHANE, C. F. X.

Leonardtown, Md.

The author of the article, "Living Conditions of India's Masses," which appeared in January CURRENT HISTORY, was given as Charles F. Strickland, instead of Claude F. Strickland.

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

To the Editor of Current History:

Numerous comments have been made on the action of Secretary of State Stimson in connection with his efforts to avoid a war between the Soviet Union and China. It seems that the Kellogg pact has been a medium for the creation of these disconcerting viewpoints, and many assertions have been made that the pact does not authorize any one or more of the signatories to undertake to act as mediators to prevent a war. But no such clause is needed in the pact. Modern treaties do not have to include every general and accepted principle of international law. The history of international relations contains numerous instances of mediation on the part of third States in order to settle disputes by peaceful means. Mediation is a means of calming a dispute and thus averting the evils of war. Although modern treaties may alter some of the principles relating to the law of nations, still questions upon the general law of nations will frequently arise, and it will then become necessary to recur to the other evidence of what is part of the law of nations, namely, the previous, ordinary and general or particular practice, or the opinions of the prominent jurists of the past. That Mr. Stimson's action was timely can be seen from the fact that both Russia and China had taken part in actual fighting and acts of reprisal were being perfected. These are measures short of war and Mr. Stimson assumed the responsibility granted to him by the accepted principles and practices of civilized nations to step in and insist on mediation. Mr.

Stimson's note did not, however, specify American mediation. He simply offered his good offices at a time when hostilities might have resulted in a war, and in doing so he acted in accordance with the accepted principles and practices as accepted by all civilized nations throughout the many ages. Mr. Stimson's right to tender his good offices and his offer of mediation represented an inchoate sense of responsibility as a representative of the American people and the peoples of other nations for the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of the flagrant evils of war.

DAVID KOPPMAN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEATH PENALTY AND CRIME

To the Editor of Current History:

Warden Lewis A. Lawes, in his article in December CURRENT HISTORY, "Does the Death Penalty Curb Crime?" is in error when he states that Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kan., are separated by the Missouri River. In fact, while in different States, the cities are both on the same bank of the river.

The author points out that Wyoming, a capital punishment State, had fourteen murders in 1928, when its neighbor, South Dakota, a non-capital punishment State, had but nine in the same year. However, South Dakota is without any industrial centre except Lead, and here no labor troubles have appeared in twenty-five years. Wyoming, on the other hand, has many active oil fields, where the lawless elements gather. This must be considered in any comparison of crime statistics in the two States.

TOM TAIT.

Former Sheriff, Campbell County, Wyoming.

Professor Preston W. Slosson of the University of Michigan writes: "I feel a deep debt of gratitude to the magazine for its timely and accurate articles on current events particularly useful to one whose life job is teaching recent history."

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR EUROPEAN STUDENTS

To the Editor of Current History:

Now that the question of war-debt cancellation and that of reducing Germany's financial obligations are temporarily settled, it is propitious that the United States take the next step in developing an international *esprit de corps* which would arouse the esteem of our adversaries and the serious attention of thinking men and women of the world.

It is generally recognized by statesmen, scholars and missionaries that the good-will created between China and the United States after the

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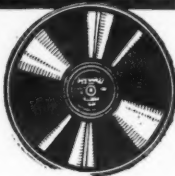
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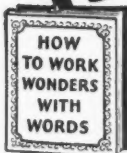
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Boxer uprising of the early years of our century is in large measure due to the fact that instead of extracting the last pound of flesh we refunded in part the indemnity which we might have collected. The money due us on the indemnity agreement was set aside to create scholarships for Chinese students. The result has been of inestimable value to both countries.

Here in America they spend their money; mingle with American men and women; study their cultural origins; try to understand the peculiarities they find here and return to their native land with new ideas, and with a feeling that fundamentally America is sincere in its insistence on the Open Door policy in China and on freedom for all nations to develop internally in accordance with the cultural and life-giving forces within them.

Since 1920 the United States has lost a good deal of its prestige in Europe. Our friends across the Atlantic are skeptical and suspicious of the conduct of our foreign policy. A finger of scorn has been pointed our way and we have even had to hear the epithet of "Shylock." Might it not be opportune for us to initiate another master stroke of *noblesse oblige*, by repeating our remission of Boxer indemnity, this time by creating scholarships for European students? We are collecting millions from the European students. We are collecting millions from the European countries in war debts and the payment of damages on the part of Germany is making it possible for us to collect this money. If the United States set aside, say, \$1,500,000 out of our annual war debt collections, we could create 1,000 scholarships of \$1,500 each, which would bring to our universities 1,000 college men and women who are destined to be among the future leaders in the political, educational, economic, financial and social affairs of their respective countries. At the present rate of payment this would amount to only about three-fourths of 1 percent of the annual debt payments to us. * * *

PHILIP G. NESERIUS,

Department of Political Science, University of New Hampshire.

EMERSON P. SCHMIDT,

Department of Economics, University of Minnesota.

* * *

BISMARCK AND THE EMS TELEGRAM

To the Editor of Current History:

In his informing and valuable article, "Forgeries That Have Made History," in November *CURRENT HISTORY*, P. W. Wilson is mistaken in saying that Bismarck's statement for the press of the points in the Ems telegram was "tantamount to a forgery." Abeken's original statement was simply a summary of what was done between Benedetti and William, and not a document to be quoted, where only a forgery is possible. It was too long and Bismarck abbreviated it without materially changing it or making it more offensive, in fact less so. If you will turn to J. Holland Rose's *Development of European Nations* (4th edition, 1914), you will find both texts in full and an impartial statement of the whole case. There was no "mutilation." In his garrulous old age Bismarck, by senile self-deception, took too much credit to himself. France was bound to have war and would have had it whether Abeken's summary had been published in any form or not. But she was not prepared. Germany was, and Bismarck wanted war to consolidate the new confederation. Why France was determined on the war and how it was incited, see Rose, who is not silent also on Bismarck's "shifts." J. A. FAULKNER.

Madison, N. J.

WORLD FINANCE

A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

Editorial Board, The Annalist

PROBABLY the blackest week that Wall Street has known, even during a year of bleak experiences, started on Dec. 11 when it was announced that the Bank of United States had been suspended and had been taken over by the New York State Banking Commissioner. On Sept. 24, when the last statement of the bank had been made, it reported \$254,043,942 in total resources, of which \$25,250,000 consisted of capital, \$17,156,375 of surplus and \$202,922,469 of deposits. The bank is a New York State chartered institution which, in spite of its pretentious name, had no connections with the Federal Government. It had sixty-one branches in New York City. The Clearing House Association immediately took steps to liquidate portions of the funds of depositors in the United States banks by providing opportunities to borrow 50 per cent on authenticated deposits. The bank failure is the largest in the history of the country. Various investigations were initiated to determine the causes of the suspension. The ultimate solvency of the bank was in doubt, and legal proceedings were started alleging shady methods of selling bank stock.

One of the important outcomes of the failure was a series of recommendations by the New York Banking Commissioner for changes in the banking law, involving stricter supervision and more leeway to the Banking Commissioner to effect consolidation of weak banks in order to prevent failures.

But this was not an isolated instance of bank failures in the United States. The Controller of the Currency, J. W. Pole, in his annual report showed that, in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1930, there were 640 bank suspensions in the United States. Later figures, made available by the Federal Reserve Board, reported 981 bank suspensions during the first eleven months of 1930 as against 580 bank suspensions during the corresponding period in 1929. The Controller made these suspensions the central theme of his recommendations for permissive legislation to extend branch banking to "trade areas." Senator Glass assembled a committee of experts, headed by Professor H. Parker Willis, to

study the operations of the Federal Reserve System and to recommend improvements.

On Dec. 3 the Federal Reserve Bank of New York announced, what seemed almost epochal in the money market, a reduction in the rediscount rate from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent rate was already the lowest in the history of the Federal Reserve System and it at first appeared hard to account for this further reduction. It was generally interpreted as an effort to assist international bankers in redirecting the flow of gold. The Bank of France also promptly reduced its discount rate from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. Comment was largely directed to the fact that the lower bank rate will assist the London gold position, and it was recalled that international bankers had been in conference during the month and no doubt had discussed methods of alleviating the gold strain.

The lowered discount rate came during a time when the money market in New York had become reasonably firm, call rates having advanced to 4 per cent, the highest of the year. The firmer money market came as a consequence of the United States Bank failure and the subsequent runs on other banks. These and the seasonal withdrawals at Christmas time made a serious drain on the money market. Money in circulation on Dec. 10, the day before the suspension of the Bank of United States, stood at \$4,656,000,000; by Dec. 17 it had risen to \$4,837,000,000 and on Dec. 24 it was \$5,014,000,000. The flow of money into circulation eased off after that and on Dec. 31 stood at \$4,889,000,000. Indeed, this flow of currency into circulation paralleled the weekly discounts that member banks made on the Federal Reserve System and showed how dependent banks have become on their discount privileges. On Nov. 12 Reserve Bank rediscounts stood at \$191,657,000; by Dec. 24 they had risen to \$448,349,000 but by Dec. 31 had declined to \$251,398,000. Augmenting the low discount rates, there has been a constant flow of money into the market by the persistent purchases by the Federal Reserve Banks of government securities and bankers' acceptances. Total bills and securities owned

by the Federal Reserve Banks increased from \$1,078,414,000 on Dec. 3 to \$1,351,852,000 on Dec. 31.

United States gold holdings on Dec. 31 were at an average daily figure of \$4,593,000,000 or within \$17,000,000 of the highest total ever reported. This rising volume of gold flows into the country in spite of continued decline in foreign trade, merchandise exports for November not having been so low in value in any month since February, 1922, excepting only last July and in July, 1924. November exports totaled \$289,000,000 against \$327,000,000 for October and \$442,000,000 for November, 1929. The decline from last year is 34.7 per cent. November imports declined 39.5 per cent from November, 1929. In fact, it is the greater drop in imports than in exports, together with lesser invisible exports, that is increasing gold holdings in spite of the decreasing foreign trade. November exports were \$84,000,000 larger than imports and for the eleven months of 1930 exports exceeded imports by \$715,137,000.

The Treasury announced a change in the interest rate which banks have to pay on government deposits—1½ per cent per annum against the previous 2 per cent. The 2 per cent rate had been in effect so long that it was looked upon as almost a fixture. The change, no doubt, was made because it had really become unprofitable to carry government accounts at 2 per cent, at least in New York when call rates had gone as low as 1 per cent and throughout several months had been at 1½ per cent. Under more normal conditions the carrying of government funds had been considered a profitable banking business because the banks need carry no reserves against such deposits and because normally the banks can lend the money out at higher rates than they pay the government. These deposits frequently become important items in the banking economy. For example, in the sale of certificates of indebtedness last September, totaling \$331,412,000, government deposits reached no less than \$272,693,000, with the last instalment called on Dec. 3.

During the first week of December the Treasury offered for subscription two new issues of Treasury certificates of indebtedness at the lowest rate ever named in any issue of certificates. The offering was in two series, both dated Dec. 15, one for \$150,000,000 consisting of certificates running for six months

and bearing 1½ per cent interest, and the other for \$250,000,000 and running for one year with 1½ per cent interest. Both issues were promptly oversubscribed. The six-month issue aggregated the huge subscription of \$939,000,000 and the one-year issue \$517,000,000.

FRANCE

The year 1930 has seen the gold reserve of the Bank of France rise from \$1,657,000,000 to \$2,038,000,000, which is an increase of 23 per cent, up to Dec. 1. This is a record figure in French financial history. The Bank of England has only about \$700,000,000. Only the Federal Reserve Bank of the United States has a larger stock of gold.

The problem for France is to prevent the country from being choked by this surplus of yellow metal and to find an adequate use for the enormous resources that for the present lie idle. Writers have discussed the various ways of meeting the problem, one suggesting the return to the free circulation of gold, others advocating a more liberal policy of foreign credits. The problem has been discussed at meetings where George L. Harrison, governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, met representatives of the Bank of France. Likewise negotiations have been reported between British and French financiers with a view to a loan or to other adjustments that may be beneficial to both countries. Meanwhile France has taken the place of money distributor which she occupied before the war, and her receipts from investments abroad are steadily increasing.

ITALY

The Italian trade deficit on Oct. 30 stood at 4,306,100,000 lire, as compared with 5,540,100,000 at the corresponding date in 1929. The adverse balance for the period was thus reduced by 1,234,000,000 lire. Italian trade with the Soviets is increasing. In the first eight months of 1930 imports from the Soviet totaled 280,400,000 lire, against 198,900,000 lire during the corresponding period in 1929. Exports to the Soviet totaled 69,000,000 lire in 1930, against 47,100,000 lire in 1929. The marked disparity is attributed to credit difficulties. To overcome this obstacle the government has agreed to guarantee such credits up to an annual limit of 200,000,000 lire, a figure which it is expected will be attained by the end of 1930.